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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HIGHER CRITICISM

IN THIS ISSUE.

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"We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The ARENA

EDITED BY

B. O. FLOWER.

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IMPORTANT REVIEWS OF THE BOOKS OF THE DAY.

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THE DRINK PROBLEM IN NORWAY AND SWEDEN, WITH IMPORTANT STATISTICS AND DATA, IN THIS ISSUE.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PAPERS. THE TENEMENT-HOUSE CURSE. A SYMPOSIUM. A POSITIVE PROGRAMME IN MUNICIPAL REFORM. THE NEW TIME. THE CHURCH AS A MISSIONARY FIELD. THE FARMER AND THE LAND. THE RIGHTS OF TRAMPS. THE BANK OF VENICE. IN THIS ISSUE.

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A. Bronson.

THE ARENA.

No. LIII.

APRIL, 1894.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC WITHOUT PRIVATE PROFITS.

BY JOHN KOREN.

AFTER generations of experiment in dealing with the drink problem by means of legal enactments, our efforts have to a greater or less extent confessedly proved failures. The reason is apparent. Our laws have failed, either because they left the liquor traffic where they found it—in the hands of those to whom intemperance is a gain—or because we have pursued a policy of irrational destruction instead of one of rational reform of the whole traffic. That the latter is not only possible but already an accomplished fact in other parts of the world is clearly demonstrated by the results of the Scandinavian system, which offers perhaps the best illustration in modern times of a far-reaching social reform brought about by wise legislation. During the first half of the present century the Swedes enjoyed the awful distinction of being of all peoples the heaviest consumers of distilled spirits. Even as late as in the fifties the annual *per capita* consumption was reckoned at twenty-eight and one half quarts, or double that of any nation at the present time. No less than 33,342 stills were in operation, or one to about one hundred inhabitants, and the imports exceeded the exports. The consequences of this unbridled drinking were most appalling. A sea of liquor threatened to engulf the nation. Sweden had become *par excellence* the land of drunkards.

A partial relief came in the shape of the law of 1855, which provided for a strict control of the manufacture of

spirits, and gave every community the right to prohibit all non-licensed sale of liquor within its own precincts. But fraught with far greater possibilities was a small clause incorporated in the new law, which simply stated that when a company was formed for the purpose of carrying on the retail sale of spirituous liquors in a city, the authorities should be empowered to grant such a company a monopoly of the licenses otherwise issued to private individuals.

Certain prominent citizens of Gothenburg, who had banded together for the purpose of devising some escape from the moral and social degradation in which intemperance had lowered the laboring classes, were the first to take advantage of this clause. In 1865 they organized a company and petitioned for a concession of all the retail liquor licenses for Gothenburg, pledging themselves to conduct the business in the interests of temperance, without further profit to themselves than a reasonable return on the capital invested, and to devote the surplus to the welfare of the laboring classes. The petition was granted, and the new enterprise was soon fairly launched. The most virulent opposition from those strange allies, the trade and some over-zealous friends of temperance, could not stay its triumphal progress through the length and breadth of the land. City after city adopted it. Although the conflict over the system in the Swedish Diet was long and bitter, it took root as a permanent institution, the stability of which is now assured through adequate legislation.

The reader should bear in mind that the system is not a state institution like the South Carolina scheme, and does not concern itself with the manufacture and wholesale distribution of liquor. Every community is left free to deal with the liquor traffic as it chooses—to continue it in the old way, entrust it to a company, or forbid it altogether.

Through years of experience the details of the system have been worked out to greater perfection, but the essential features remain the same. These are, first, to render all those engaged in the retail sale of spirits perfectly disinterested; and second, to control it in such a manner as to check consumption within the limits of the recognized demands of the people. In other words, it aims to divorce the retail sale of liquor from private profit making, and restrict the supply in accordance with the dictates of temperance.

Once given a monopoly of the licenses in a municipality, a company can easily attain the former object. The six per cent interest guaranteed the shareholders offers no special inducement to investors, as the capital needed is small and the stock is usually distributed on many hands. Much less has it ever become necessary to stimulate the traffic in order to secure this return.

Those immediately engaged in the serving of spirits are deprived of every motive to encourage drinking. Not only are they paid fixed salaries, and must sell the liquor provided by the company at stated prices in glasses and vessels furnished by the company, but their very promotion depends on having small sales to their credit. Their personal interests are further appealed to by permitting them to sell temperance drinks and food for their own profit. Unfortunately malt liquors have been classed among temperance beverages, and their use as a substitute for spirits has been encouraged even by abstainers. This well-meant but mistaken policy is, however, gradually being abandoned. Every precaution is taken to prevent abuses on the part of the managers, whose non-compliance with orders is punished by instant dismissal.

Every system for the regulation of the sale of liquors recognizes certain demands of the public which must be met. To restrict these within proper limits presents the greater difficulty. Under the company system it is sought to accomplish this by reducing the number of licensed places, shortening the business hours, prohibiting sales on credit, and rigidly enforcing the law against selling to intoxicated persons and minors, and in quantities likely to produce intoxication. These restrictive measures, oftentimes in advance of the requirements of the law, are carried out with a rare conscientiousness.

However, the Gothenburg plan was not to embrace the entire retail sale of spirits in the company monopoly. The prime object was to check that part of the consumption which falls to the laboring classes. This gave rise to a system of sub-licensing, whereby the retail sale of liquors at hotels, restaurants, and clubs, as well as the bottle trade in higher grade wares, is withdrawn from the direct control of the companies. Although rather objectionable from a temperance point of view, this policy is not out of harmony with the general Swedish plan.

The law provides that of the license fees and net earnings of the companies, seven tenths shall be paid to the municipality, one tenth to the agricultural society of the district, and two tenths to the state treasury. Small cities or towns receive only five tenths.

That ultra-democratic Norway should adopt a system originating in ultra-aristocratic Sweden, and become the best exponent of its merits, is of itself a significant sign. The transplanted system was at once rendered superior to its original by being introduced as an out-and-out temperance measure. In no other way could it hope to gain ground, and, as such, class distinction could not be tolerated. Accordingly, pernicious methods of sub-licensing are unknown. Nor could the companies content themselves with possessing a monopoly of the retail sale of spirits, but are reaching out to acquire control of the sale of beer as well. By means of a strong central supervision a greater uniformity in the organization and administration of the companies has been secured, minimizing the danger from reprehensible methods. More adequate regulations are enforced to limit consumption; and, lastly, to avoid giving the companies a semblance of tax-paying institutions, the law requires that the profits from the trade shall be expended for objects of public utility. We find on examination that the larger part of the earnings from the liquor traffic in Norway is devoted to charity and charitable institutions of all kinds, industrial and popular education, sanitary improvements, parks, highways, public amusements, etc.

A visit to one of the reformed saloons of Norway will best illustrate the methods of the companies. No gorgeous display of bottles in the window or gilded exterior betrays the presence of the gin palace and invites the thirsty customer. It may be necessary for him to search long and inquire his way before he finds a shop. On entering, he finds himself in a small room with a counter at the further end, behind which the barkeeper stands. There are no tables or chairs. Perhaps the first thing to attract the eye of the visitor is a placard bearing this inscription in large letters: "When the customer has consumed what he has ordered, he is requested to leave the premises at once." Or his attention may be drawn to a copy of the rules, which is conspicuously posted, and warns him to treat the barkeeper with respect and otherwise conduct himself with all propriety. The drink called

for will be promptly served, but a second order is as promptly refused. Remonstrance is of no avail; the barkeeper is neither to be bribed nor bullied. The customer will perhaps be told to come again in three hours. If too persistent in his demands, he will be asked to leave at once, and a refusal to do so will result in his being debarred from entering that shop again for a week or perhaps a month. Habitual drinkers and persons unable to provide for themselves are permanently blacklisted.

The first visible result of the changed order of things in the Scandinavian countries has been a reduction of the number of licensed places. It was recognized as the first necessary step toward the desired reform to dispense with as many drinking places as possible, both in order to diminish the temptation to drink and for the sake of better control. Taking the city of Gothenburg as an example, we find that the number of inhabitants to each bar (now 2,658) has more than doubled since the organization of the company; yet it started out with twenty licenses less than had previously been issued to private dealers. In Stockholm the number of bars has been reduced by twenty-three under the system, concurrently with an increase of population of over 90,000. The companies rarely operate all the licenses at their disposal, which is certainly strong evidence of a desire to use their power for the good of the community. In the whole of Sweden the number of saloons has decreased nearly one fourth during the decade 1882 to 1892. According to the latest statistics, the average population to each saloon in the cities and towns is 1,073, and in the country districts 22,526. And this is in a country where, a generation ago, "Brandy could be purchased in almost every cottage!"

Norway presents an equally fair showing. Since 1871 the number of saloons in the cities and towns has been reduced from 501 to 227, or from one for every 591 inhabitants to one for 1,413. In the city of Bergen during the year previous to the establishment of the company (1876), there was one bar to 1,498 inhabitants, as against one to 5,137 in 1892.

How do our conditions compare with those indicated by the above figures? From the last census report we learn that in 257 of our cities, with a population of over fifteen millions, there is, on an average, one saloon to each 250 inhabitants.

It is true we cannot determine just how far the state of sobriety in a community is conditioned on the number of places where drink is sold, nor can it be shown that consumption decreases in exact proportion to the reduction of such places. Nevertheless there is an obvious difference between having a hundred rum shops in a city owned by private dealers, and having fifty bars ruled by the strong hand of a company bound to use every means to counteract intemperance.

Yet it is not proposed to judge the results of the company system by this remarkable feature alone. The crucial test of any system regulating the sale of liquor is its effect upon consumption. If it can be shown that consumption has been efficiently checked in Scandinavia, which means proportionately less drunkenness, the system stands vindicated. The problem confronting the Swedes — the enormous indulgence in spirits under the ancient *regime* — has been referred to. As late as in 1874, in which year we first begin to trace the effects of the system, the *per capita* consumption of distilled spirits in Sweden stood at fourteen and two tenths quarts. Eighteen years later, the same consumption had been brought down to six and eight tenths quarts — or eight tenths quart more than that of the United States to-day — nearly every year marking a decline. For single cities we obtain like results. Thus the Swedes, who once ranked as the heaviest drinkers among civilized nations, have dropped down to the ninth place.

Turning to Norway, we learn that in 1876, five years after the introduction of the company system, six and eight tenths quarts of spirits represented the average consumption, which by 1892 had been reduced to three and three tenths quarts, or about two and one half quarts less than that of this country. Considering the consumption of every kind of intoxicating drink, Norway is only outclassed by Italy and Greece as to the general sobriety of her people.

The question will at once be raised, May not this marvelous transformation be accredited in the main to other factors, such as active temperance work, popular education, or religious revivals, rather than to the method of regulating the sale of liquor? The ready answer is, Why, then, do we not get the same results in other countries where such factors have been and are even more potent than in Sweden and Norway? Again, if the diminution in consumption under

consideration is to be attributed to moral suasion principally, how are we to account for the fact that the consumption of beer, which is not a part of the company monopoly, has steadily advanced in these countries?

After a careful personal study of the conditions in Sweden and Norway it seems to me an irresistible conclusion, which is admitted by the temperance party in both countries, that but for the company system the results pointed out could never have been attained. And it would indeed be wonderful did drunkenness not disappear to some extent under a system of control which removes the one all-powerful incentive to stimulate the sale of liquor to its utmost point—the greed for gain; which insists upon abolishing as many drink shops as consistent with public necessity; which makes every restrictive measure possible of enforcement; which reduces the strength of the liquor while it raises the price. It is most interesting to note how experience in Norway and Sweden substantiates the fact that cheap liquor means large sales. In the cities where the highest prices are charged for the dram or bottle the sales are smallest, and *vice versa*. It is even stated on good authority that the efficiency of a company in checking consumption can be measured by its prices.

In Sweden the company system had to do battle for its existence with mighty foes, and in Norway its advent was hailed with loud disapprobation. In both countries a failure to attain its high purpose would soon have sealed its fate for all time. Still, we look in vain for a single community which having once tried the system has been willing to forego its benefits. Maligned and cursed alike by prohibitionists and saloon keepers, it has won the goodwill of the former and left of the latter but a soon-to-be-forgotten name. Not all the friends of temperance have been sufficiently open-minded to acknowledge that it is sometimes wiser to effect a change in existing conditions than to make futile attempts at abolishing them. The system has its enemies among the extremists, but the leading temperance advocates have given it unqualified support. They see its vast possibilities when developed to its full extent—a means toward the end for which they labor.

The system has been tested and found not to be a utopian scheme; as the bishop of Chester has remarked, it should rather be called ubiquitous than utopian. Finland adopted

it years ago with admirable results. The Swiss alcohol monopoly is nothing but the Gothenburg principle applied to the manufacture and wholesaling of spirits. Under the leadership of the bishop of Chester and Mr. Chamberlain, strenuous efforts are being made to introduce the system in England, where it has already been experimented with by individuals. The canteen system of the British Army in India is also a modification of the Scandinavian plan. And now a bill is before the general court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, providing that cities or towns voting license shall be permitted to try the experiment of carrying on a liquor traffic without private profits.

Let us seek to summarize the advantages to be gained by the adoption of the company system as applied in Norway, with the modifications necessary to meet our own requirements. They are:—

1. It is a "measure of reform and not of destruction." Experience has shown that the saloons cannot be permanently legislated out of existence, but we know that they can be reformed and substitutes offered to meet the social cravings of the many.

2. The element of private profit making would be divorced from the sale of intoxicants. When the terrible temptation to make money out of other people's vices is removed, competition must cease and every restrictive provision of the law can easily be carried out.

3. The whole liquor question would be taken out of politics, and one of the greatest obstacles to municipal and social reform generally would be surmounted.

4. The number of licensed places would be reduced to the lowest limit consistent with keeping the control of the traffic in the hands of the company without placing a premium on illicit sales. But both the gin palace and the dive would disappear.

5. The consumption of liquor could be checked not only by limiting the quantity to be sold to the individual consumer, but by shorter hours of sale and enhancing the cost of liquor. Order and decency will become the first consideration, the sale of drink the last.

6. Absolute purity of the liquor sold could be guaranteed. The evil effects of over indulgence are often, perhaps, as much due to quality as to quantity.

7. Better policing of the places where drink is sold will follow, and those charged with the enforcement of the law will not be tempted by bribes. All the immoral accessories which intensify the harm done by the common saloon would be dissociated from the traffic, and the pauper, loafer, and criminal driven from their haunts.

8. By placing the responsibility for the manner in which the liquor traffic is conducted upon the shoulders of many (the members of a company), and not upon private individuals or certain office holders, honest and intelligent management could easily be obtained, and the efficient coöperation of the community relied upon.

9. The system does not interfere with local option, but is a step toward making a no-license rule an actuality rather than a name.

10. It teaches temperance by holding up drunkenness as a vice, and hence,

11. Does not "make drinking respectable"; on the contrary, it demonstrates forcibly that as a matter of self-protection only society cannot tolerate immoderate indulgence.

12. The profits arising from the trade, instead of going to the enrichment of a few, could be devoted to the alleviation of the ills inflicted upon society by the drink evil itself, and to the establishment of counteracting agencies.

That the company system may be successfully adapted to meet American needs has, I believe, not yet been brought into dispute. The practical difficulties connected with it are easily overcome. The only objections against the adoption of the Scandinavian plan emanate from a widely different source—from prejudice or selfish interest—either from the extremists among the temperance people or from the trade. With the latter we need not concern ourselves, as long as it is recognized that the public weal must take precedence over the interests of the individual. But many advocates of temperance feel the strongest repugnance toward having anything to do with a traffic in which they see naught but blackest evil, and to share in its earnings is to them to accept "blood money."

But can we get rid of our responsibility by clamoring for a prohibition we cannot compel the municipalities to adopt, much less enforce if adopted? In the words of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain: "You are at present undertaking the respon-

sibility of the control and regulation of the liquor traffic, and the question is whether you will do it efficiently or in the perfunctory way it is now carried on." As far as the majority of our cities is concerned, it seems to me the choice lies between leaving the saloons in the control of persons who abuse their privilege in every way and try to sell as much liquor as possible, and placing it in the hands of people bound in every way to do nothing to increase the demand for intoxicants, but to create wholesome counter demands. That by choosing the latter we should become more implicated in the moral and social ruin wrought by the saloons is difficult to see. It is not mere assumption to say that by opposing the introduction of the Scandinavian plan, the prohibitionists only endeavor to defeat their own ends. The system is a rational step toward ultimate prohibition, if you please, but it proceeds on the ground that it is generally worse than idle to legislate in advance of a matured public opinion, and that the reaction from a too sudden and sweeping reform is more to be deprecated than the evil it sought to cure.

As for sharing the profits from the liquor traffic, the "devil's money"—are we not doing it now, and how can we escape it? The difference is only that at present we content ourselves with a humble share, and let the rest go into the pockets of those who grow wealthy by filling our almshouses and prisons, while under the proposed system we could devote all to noble ends. It has been suggested that under this system a company might deliberately foster and increase the consumption of liquor for the sake of greater gain, and that a rivalry might thus arise between different cities. That a community in which the best citizens are made responsible for the manner in which the liquor traffic is handled should ever get into such a demoralized state is hardly credible. This much is certain, it cannot happen unless, under the delusion that its mission is ended, the temperance party has completely vanished.

It is not claimed for a moment that the Norwegian or any other system for the sale of liquor offers a final solution of the drinking problem, or that it is a panacea for all the ills flowing from intemperance. But it is a distinct step in advance, an experiment which by its results elsewhere has vindicated its right to be tried by us.

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT.*

BY A. M. HOLMES, A. M., M. D.

THE past is fixed, but the future lies before us like the rough marble before the sculptor. It can be shaped into beautiful designs according to the fancies and tastes of the sculptors, or left untouched with all its beauty and usefulness undeveloped. If we obey the dictates of the famous inscription of the oracle of Delphi, which said, "Man, know thyself," we shall find that we must also know our ancestors. Heredity, therefore, is the key to solve the problem. In order to comprehend the importance of heredity, it will be necessary to review some of the elemental principles of organic nature.

The finite mind of man has for ages been making an effort to grapple with the Infinite, in order to secure a correct interpretation of truth and trace organic nature to its source.

The verdict of modern thought is unanimous in asserting that there was a time when the material universe was in a chaotic state; when the plastic material had been created, but the magical touch of the Supreme Intelligence had not yet moulded the chaos into the wondrous designs that now furnish food for the souls of finite beings. Architecture was then unknown, and without architecture, of what use are the materials—the soft clay or the perfect marble? Beauty and utility were yet latent. But ere long, "the designs and specifications" of the Supreme Architect were revealed, and the product of two mighty forces—vital and physical—by the union of mind and matter, produced a *living cell*. The Great Architect had united the material with the immaterial, the visible with the invisible, and out of the chaos of a dead universe there evolved the greatest mystery of creation—life.

As organic nature is traced from this beginning, some of its history can be read, some is lost, and scientists with wrinkled brows are yet trying to decipher its mysteries.

* The substance of this valuable paper was read by the author before the state convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Boulder, Col., Sept. 21, 1893.

But the principle that gives the inert mass the power of life is the secret of the Architect, and will never be comprehended by the finite mind.

If we study this living cell we shall find that it is composed of an unresponsive, powerless mass, and a vital force. By the union of these two factors, it becomes an independent organism, possessing certain well-marked functions. This is the first step in the wonderful evolution of life. If we observe this organism, we can ascertain these functions, and from them we may learn something of the laws that govern life.

We see a little cell nestled in a congenial environment. It is alive and moves. It comes in contact with small particles of inorganic matter; it shapes its body so as to surround them, and the little particles are absorbed into its organism and become a part of the living cell. That function of the cell which enables it to absorb the latent forces of inorganic matter unto itself, we call *nutrition*. If we watch it further we shall observe that it increases in size.

We now have a living organism, able to move, and by means of this power to utilize the forces of the external world by assimilating food, and by means of these two powers able to acquire growth. Thus far we have learned three functions of the organic world—nutrition, growth, and motion. We find by experimentation, that if we diminish the nutrition, the growth diminishes and the motion lessens. If nutrition ceases, growth and motion both cease, and the cell dies; the two factors that were combined to form the living cell dissolve, and the organism ceases to be.

Are these all the functions of the organic world that we can discover? If so, it would indeed be a brief but bright existence, like a meteor passing through the sky, to be admired for a moment, then to pass from sight and soon from memory. But the little cell that we have been studying has a brighter future; it has a latent force within that has thus far been unobserved. When we look again the elemental substance of the little mass has divided itself, and behold, there are *two living cells*. The function of perpetual existence has been added—the function of self-preservation, by making two living things out of one; the origin of parent and offspring; the beginning of reproduction.

The fundamental principles of life were embraced in those four functions—nutrition, growth, motion, and reproduction.

The living cell being completed, it has since been allowed to work out its destiny. It began to unfold the mysterious possibilities that were concealed within its little structure, and the unnumbered ages have witnessed a mighty growth and development—a wonderful evolution of life.

Let us now observe the relation that these four attributes of organic life bear to one another. Since living organisms can move, grow, and reproduce only by means of nutrition, it is evident that they depend upon nutrition for their continued existence. Therefore nutrition is essential to the other three functions, for without it the others would cease to act and the organism would die.

But nutrition and growth cannot be acquired unless the organism *exerts* itself in selecting food, and subsequently in assimilating it. Thus we learn that without exercise, or the function of motion, the functions of nutrition and growth will cease. Exercise is, therefore, absolutely essential to nutrition and growth. Without the judicious exercise of each function of an organism, the other functions will not be normal; with a little exercise of these functions it may simply continue to exist; but when they cease to act, the organism must die.

Two theories have long been extant as to "the origin of life." There have been two schools with diametrically opposite views, the one claiming that life can be "spontaneously generated," the other that life can come only from preëxisting life. To the delight of many and the regret of a few, scientific authorities everywhere are unanimous on this point, "*Omne vivum ex vivo*"—all life comes from life. The germ, in both animal and plant life, is itself simply a detached portion of the substance of a preëxisting living body. Life, therefore, can be produced from a living ancestor only.

Now since we know that with judicious exercise and normal nutrition, there will be normal growth and development, and consequently a normal body; we also know that with a normal growth and development, and a normal body, it naturally follows that there will be normal reproduction; for *if the ancestor is normal, the offspring, which is a part of it, must also be normal.*

But if any function of the organism is varied from the normal, it follows that the others will vary from the normal. If there is abnormal exercise there will be abnormal nutri-

tion; there being abnormal exercise and nutrition, there will be abnormal growth and development, and consequently an abnormal body. With all these abnormal conditions there will be abnormal reproduction; *for for if the ancestor is abnormal, the offspring, which is a part of it, must also be abnormal.* And we call this HEREDITY.

There is a mysterious principle in every living organism that enables it to select from its environment such ingredients as are necessary to produce the tissues and organs peculiar to its own nature. Thus if we plant a rose, a lily, and a grain of corn in the same soil, and give them the same care, one will select the ingredients from its environment that are essential to its growth and development, and with that subtle chemistry that is everywhere at work in the organic world, will produce its kind; while the others will select ingredients from the same soil, and with the same amount of heat, light, and moisture, and the same atmosphere, will produce an entirely different growth. This law holds good in the animal kingdom as well as among plants. If a number of animals of different species are taken in their infancy, and subjected, as nearly as possible, to the same influences, it will be observed that each will develop into a distinct type, differing in almost every respect from the others.

The observance of this law convinces us that the principle of each plant or animal, which enables it to *preserve the peculiarities of its species*, is an inherent, internal principle which is a part of its nature, inherited from its ancestors, and by it given to its offspring. Thus we have a *universal law* which enables each individual to transmit to its offspring certain essentials that are common to all the individuals of its species. Although we have these *common essentials*, yet there are differences or peculiarities that distinguish each member of a species from all others. Now how are we to account for these *individual differences*? This is the work of heredity and environment, which I shall now attempt to show.

It is universally conceded to be a fact that no two persons are identical. Let us then, by reasoning from effect to cause, endeavor to ascertain an explanation for this. It is a self-evident fact that *identical causes will produce identical effects*. It is also evident that the inverse of this law is true—that *unequal causes will produce unequal effects*. Therefore, since no two persons are identical, we know that they were either

not identical at birth, or that they have been subjected to unequal influences. As a matter of fact, we know that the latent powers, the latent possibilities, that are concealed in each embryonic life, are *variable quantities*. We also know, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the influences which surround these individual lives — the environment — for moulding and shaping into a fixed state the plastic, latent, inherited predispositions, are *never identical*. Therefore, in the question with which we have to deal, we have not only *two unknown quantities*, but *two variable unknown quantities* that are never alike in two individuals — heredity and environment.

Now since there are no two persons with identical predispositions, what will be the result if we should expose them to *equal influences*? This brings us to *another self-evident law*: If we exert unequal forces against equal resistances, the results will be unequal; or inversely, if we exert equal forces against unequal resistances, the results will also be unequal. Therefore if we expose a number of persons with unequal predispositions to equal influences, the results must be unequal. The person possessing organs with the greatest functional activity will be able to derive the greatest benefit and secure the greatest growth and development. On the other hand, if the environment is an uncongenial one, the person with an inheritance most closely approaching normal will possess *the greatest power of resistance*, and consequently will be the last to yield to the malignant influences. The inverse of this is also true. Those possessing the weakest functions will derive the least growth and development, and will be the first to yield to the malignant influences.

If we should grant, for argument's sake, that all men *are born equal*, how long would they remain so, if constantly exposed to unequal influences? But if they ever were born equal, we know that such is not the case now. On the other hand we know that individual inheritances differ to such a degree, that even with the most carefully selected environment, those possessing the weakest functions cannot be made to equal those possessing the strongest. On this line, Dr. Weismann says, "We cannot by excessive feeding make a giant out of a dwarf, nor convert the brain of a predestined fool into that of a Leibnitz or a Kant by means of much thinking."

Now, since all individuals possess variable latent possi-

bilities, and these possibilities are developed in proportion to the influences that act upon them, we are, therefore, able to formulate the principle of these individual differences as follows: First, The inherited differences of individuals are known as *individual predispositions*. Second, These "predispositions" render the individual more or less *susceptible to external influences*.

Heredity, therefore, is that law of nature whereby parents transmit to their offspring certain variable powers, termed "predispositions," which render their offspring more or less *susceptible to their environment*. Heredity is the condition *within* the body, and environment consists of the influences that act upon it from *without*. To properly adjust these two factors is the *rationale* of individual development and organic evolution. "To balance some inward evil with some purer influence acting from without" will enable our environment to correct our heredity.

As far back as early Grecian civilization, Hippocrates comprehended a relationship between man and his environment. Observing the influence of the various countries upon the people, he says, "You will find, as a rule, that the form of the body and the disposition of the mind correspond to the nature of the country." In no modern work of biology can we find a better definition of environment and its effects upon the individual, than that given by this sage Grecian philosopher.

The mysterious manner in which heredity performs its wonders is not yet known. Scientists are unsettled on the question. But in the meantime, we should heed the advice that Sir James Paget once gave to his class—"We should not throw away what we do not understand." Whether Sir Francis Galton, who believes in "hereditary genius," is correct, or whether Dr. Weismann, who believes that "Acquired characteristics are not transmitted," is right, we must allow the future to decide. But while scientists are debating this and many other problems of heredity, and are struggling to reach the limits of attainable knowledge, we should not close our eyes to the awful lessons taught by heredity, even if we do not understand its mysterious nature.

Thus far we have shown that the organic world consists primarily of two essentials—the material and the immaterial, or a body and the life principle; that by the union of these

two factors we have an organism possessing certain functions which are necessary to its continued existence; that these functions are found to be nutrition, growth, motion, and reproduction; that they bear a definite relation to one another; that if there is a harmonious relationship existing between them there will be normal growth and development, and a normal body; that if there is an inharmonious relationship existing between them, there will be abnormal growth and development, and an abnormal body; that all life comes from preëxisting life; that every offspring is a part of some preëxisting living ancestor; that if the ancestor is normal, the offspring will be normal—for it is a part of it; that if the ancestor is abnormal, the offspring will also be abnormal—for it is a part of it; and that the power which enables the parent to transmit to its offspring these variable conditions or predispositions we call *heredity*.

Not only have we learned that by the laws of heredity ancestors transmit to their offspring variable predispositions, but we have also observed that these manifest themselves in the mental and moral as well as in the physical nature of the offspring.

Let us now take a retrospective view of ancestral inheritances. As we do so, a sympathetic chord is touched in our nature, for a most melancholy vision is presented to us: diseased bodies, dwarfed and deformed; weak minds, so weak that they cannot see truth, or if they see it, distort it until it is truth no longer; souls so black that they feast in darkness on the very dregs of perdition. What a vision! And do we call these men?—men, who were intended by the Architect of the universe to be the crowning piece of His handiwork! What a fearful manifestation of penalties for broken laws!

After beholding this sad vision, let us now ask the *causes* that lead to such depravity and misery? Our answer is this: First, an abnormal inheritance. Second, an abnormal environment. Third, the improper use, or the abuse, of our functions.

If the fountain-head of the stream of life is not pure, we cannot expect the waters below to be pure. If in the laboratory of nature we combine two parts of hydrogen and one part of oxygen, we call the resulting compound water. But in the chemistry of life, if we combine two parts of immoral-

ity—or moral depravity, and one part of insanity—or mental depravity, who can tell us what the compound will be? Or if we combine one part of immorality—which is moral depravity, one part of insanity—which is mental depravity, and two parts of disease—which is physical depravity, again, who can tell us what the product will be? Do we not have this identical problem to deal with in heredity? Every day of our lives we see this sad debauchery in chemistry, and the experimentation makes the world shudder to look at the results.

If in the sacred laboratory of wedlock we combine these three ingredients—immorality, insanity, and disease—we must remember that the laws of nature are never false. If the resulting compound is not as we would have it, it is because the proper ingredients were not used. And we must also remember that the only way to correct this awful debauchery is to combine pure chemicals in proper proportions. Then the stream of life will flow clear and pure to the sea beyond, unless it is contaminated by external influences on its journey. This brings us to our second factor—*an abnormal environment*.

In dealing with the influences of an impure environment, we will only treat them in a general manner. All organic nature can be classified into three conditions with reference to development—the states of equilibrium, progression, and retrogression. The state of equilibrium is simply the turning point between the other two. We are ever between two opposing forces, the one attracting to an ideal, the other repelling from—centripetal and centrifugal forces.

Being ever in the midst of conflicting influences, it is impossible for man to remain in the state of equilibrium. In the rebellion of influences, the stronger will be victorious, and after each conflict he is either raised one step higher in the scale of life, or descends one step lower.

From a study of man, it is evident that it was intended that he should respond quickly to his environment. It was not intended that he should remain in the state of equilibrium, nor that he should retrograde. He has been furnished with undeveloped powers, and surrounded by a nature full of possibilities—food to develop the physical and truth to develop the mental nature. With eyes to see, he can look upward or downward. Before him are two roads, one leading

to development, the other to destruction. By yielding to degrading influences his powers are weakened, and he is rendered less able to battle with the lurking foes awaiting him. By yielding to ennobling influences his powers are strengthened, and he is led to still greater conquests. He cannot say, as did Alexander, that "There are no more worlds to conquer," for as long as the human race has malignant influences to combat, there will be battles to fight and victories to win. They will continue until we advance, step by step, to a higher social condition and a perfect civilization. If we follow where truth leads us, the discords of broken laws will not be heard, for we shall then be approaching perfection.

If we but make a wise selection of our environment, and a judicious use of our functions, we shall always be found in the upward road to perfect development. But if we choose an abnormal environment and aid it by functional inactivity or functional excesses, we shall find, as we are carried downward in the road to degeneracy, that our only blessings will be ignorance and immorality, poverty and disease.

In all nature there are no evils without a *remedy*, if we but wisely seek it. So it is with the evils of heredity. "Nature furnishes poisons for the assassin; she also furnishes antidotes for the physician." As we deal with disease so should we deal with crime, as we cannot isolate either from heredity. How much wiser it is rigidly to enforce rational sanitary laws to prevent disease, rather than to apply the most accurate skill in removing it. Does it not seem more humane, more rational, to endeavor to remove the causes, rather than to deal with the effects by punishing or reforming criminals, however just it may be to punish or honorable to reform? As the conscientious physician endeavors to remove the conditions which tend to undermine the health, so the conscientious sociologist should endeavor to remove the conditions which tend to undermine the moral and social nature.

As the standard of education is increased, the need of legislation will be diminished. But until that time comes something must be done to counteract the degrading influences of ignorance and intemperance, the two great factors that lead to vice and depravity. While we should have a sympathy that will vibrate in unison with all humanity, we should also have the firmness of character to enact such laws,

and rigidly enforce them, as will, so far as possible, remove the causes that generate crime and misery.

As we have sanitary laws to protect the health, so should we have hereditary laws to protect posterity. Where crime and disease are most prevalent, it is observed that there is the least respect for the laws of marriage, and the greatest disregard for the rules of consanguinity. Children should be taught by wise mothers and fathers, that ignorance of the laws of their nature does not necessarily mean innocence in character; it is by knowledge that we gain power. The forces and causes which mould human destiny should be carefully studied and understood. The education of the people to the comprehension of the magnitude, and the obedience to the dictates, of these factors should be enforced.

Mr. Flower of THE ARENA, in his fearless and most excellent manner of dealing with social and moral problems, says, "*Character development* must be the keynote of the education of to-morrow." These factors are of such supreme importance that the condition of the future—"the civilization of to-morrow"—will depend largely upon the wisdom of the generations of to-day.

A well-known authority has said, "One who is born with such congenital incapacity that nothing can make a gentleman of him, is entitled not to our wrath, but to our profoundest sympathy."

Unfortunate victims who receive moral poisons from their ancestors, and those who receive bodies tainted with impurities, have no moral right to entail upon helpless offspring the bitter fruits of their own or ancestral sins. Such homes are incubators for vice and depravity. It is at their firesides that we find the congenital criminal. Those who know that they would transmit diseased bodies and weakened predispositions to their offspring, should choose voluntary celibacy. How much more honorable is such a course, and typical of a higher education and moral training, than is the example set by many who claim to be leaders of modern society and civilization, who have acquired the knowledge that enables them to enjoy the intoxications of wedlock without being parents.

There is one word, when spoken, that vibrates every chord of sensibility in our entire organism, and sends an echo—the sweetest melody of nature—to our inmost soul; it is the name of "mother." But who can imagine a true mother, or

a true woman who believes in the sacred laws of wedlock, and yet despises and rebels against the most sacred gift of Heaven? Yet how prevalent is this crime in this day of our boasted civilization. Can children who thus, "per chance," become the uninvited blessings to such households, hope for the best inheritance, when those subtle yet potent prenatal influences are against them? I think not.

Again, at the risk of being censured by over-sensitive moralists, I will venture the opinion that we should put a gulf between congenital criminals and the rest of the world, by means of compulsory celibacy, exercised by isolating them from the world, or by a physiological annihilation which will render posterity safe from such contamination. The pure crystal streams of life should not be polluted by the streams that flow into them, otherwise the waters of both become contaminated.

After beholding the sad vision of the depravity of man, and also having endeavored to learn the causes that lead to such depravity and misery, I find that the hope of the future will depend upon these—a clear fountain-head or good inheritance, a congenial environment, and the proper use of our functions. It will be by a judicious use of our functions—mental, moral, and physical—aided by a wise selection of environment, and the exercise of "the law of natural selection," that the problem of "the survival of the fittest" must be solved, the inertia of the evolution of the species continued, and humanity raised nearer and nearer toward a perfect ideal.

The ideal of a perfect physical nature is perfect health; the ideal of a perfect mental nature is a normal brain; the ideal of a perfect moral nature is a perfect conscience; and the ideal of a perfect being is the blending of these three into one symmetrical whole. When this perfect personal equation is attained; when we shall have gained a perfect heritage—a healthy body, a sound mind, and a spotless soul; when our environment shall be without foes concealed on every side; when the flower can bloom without deadly foes hidden within its leaves ere it unfolds its beauty; when disease, that fatal enemy of the body, has ceased to be; when truth is no longer crushed to earth to grovel in the mire with deadly foes—then we may look out upon God's universe and expect to see a perfect man.

TENNYSON'S RELIGION.

BY REV. W. H. SAVAGE.

WHAT a great man, who was also a great poet, believed regarding the greatest matter that can engage the human mind must always have an interest for the world at large. That Tennyson was great in the essential attributes of manhood is granted by all competent judges. He belonged to the race of the Titans in the build of his body and in the massive make of his mind. His old face was that of a Prometheus who had done battle with the gods of the world's darkness, and had come victor out of great tribulation.

His matchless skill and delicacy as an artist have seemed to many the most wonderful of his gifts, but his spells were wrought with a giant's hand. And his mood, from youth to old age, was as far as possible from that of

"The idle singer of an empty day."

The lighter preludes of his youth were but the tuning of his lyre for the great themes of the time to come, and amid the bewildering music of his lines there were, even then, prophetic tones foretelling the deep-voiced epic of a great soul's quest for the vision of God.

The prophecy of Tennyson's youth was amply fulfilled. His poems, the fruitage of a life, an inspiration, and an art, that continued full and sustained until past fourscore, reveal for us the spiritual struggle, the doubts, the fears, the agony, and the victory of a soul greatly endowed, passionately in earnest, utterly sincere, and nobly sane. To the last, he was like his own gray Ulysses, —

yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought;

and when the hour had come for him to seek a newer world, he nobly realized Milton's conception of the bard whose long experience and lofty thought had risen

"To something like prophetic strain."

What such a man thought of the world as he passed through it, what he thought about the Power that manifests itself in the cosmic laws and in the soul of man, how he looked upon human life and what he believed regarding human destiny, are matters concerning which we may well feel a very deep interest. To set forth Tennyson's own answer to these questions, as truthfully as possible and as far as may be in his own words, is the purpose of this paper.

He was, in a double sense, a son of the Church of England. His father was a clergyman and his first home was the rectory of Somersby, in Lincolnshire. He remained, to the end of his life, a loyal believer in the church, as an institution for conserving religion and for helping the best life of England. How much of the church's doctrine he held for truth, he has nowhere definitely set forth. It is clear, however, that he had no sympathy with those who tried to use the church to restrain or oppress what they called heresy.

When Bishop Colenso was assailed for having discovered things unknown to some of his colleagues, Tennyson sent him a letter of warm sympathy, and invited him to visit him and stay as long as he liked. When F. D. Maurice had been expelled from King's College, Tennyson sent him a similar invitation, which said :—

Should all our clergy foam in spite
At you, so careful of the right,
Yet one lay hearth would give you welcome
(Take it and come) to the Isle of Wight.

Such behavior gave practical emphasis to his much-blamed couplet,

There is more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds

and evinced his practical loyalty to

the Christ that is to be,

when the light is clear enough to reveal Him and men's hearts are large enough to receive Him.

One of his later poems, "Akbar's Dream," is prefaced by the following inscription for a temple in Kashmir :—

O God in every temple I see people that see Thee,
And in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee.
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee.

Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."
 If it be a mosque people murmur the holy prayer,
 And if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love to
 Thee.
 Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the
 mosque,
 But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.
 Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy,
 For neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

When, therefore, we say that Tennyson was a loyal son of the Church of England, we must remember that he held his church to be but one out of many divinely recognized shrines. When Aubrey de Vere asked him if he was a conservative, Tennyson replied, "I believe in progress, and I would conserve the hopes of man." Service was his test of sacredness. Be it church or mosque, it was made sacred by the worship of a sincere soul.

In another respect Tennyson was quite out of harmony with the churchmen of his mid-age, and with many of them to the end of his life. In his theory of things he was an evolutionist. Of course we cannot expect to find in his poems anything in the nature of a formal statement of his philosophy of the universe. We must find his theory in his method of treating his great theme—the nature, the hope, and the destiny of man. Of this theory he gave an early intimation in the famous lines in "Locksley Hall",—

Yet I doubt not through the ages, one increasing purpose runs,
 And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

This note of his youth is taken up and repeated in four lines written in his old age, and entitled "The Play":—

Act first, this Earth, a stage so gloomed with woe
 You all but sicken at the shifting scenes.
 And yet be patient. One Playwright may show,
 In some fifth Act, what this wild Drama means.

Again, in his poem entitled "The Dawn":—

Dawn, not day!
 Is it Shame, so few should have climbed from the dens in the level
 below,
 Men, with a heart and soul, no slaves of a four-footed will?
 But if twenty millions of summers are stored in the sunlight still,
 We are far from the noon of man; there is time for the race to
 grow.

The consummation of this æonian evolution is foretold in still another utterance of Tennyson's old age, which he called "The Making of Man":—

Where is one that, born of woman, altogether can escape
From the lower world within him, moods of tiger, or of ape?

Man as yet is being made, and ere the crowning Age of ages,
Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into shape?

All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,

Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker, "It is finished — Man is made."

In his conception of "the Power not ourselves" which manifests itself in the growth of worlds and of man, Tennyson may fairly be called a theist, although some of his declarations would not be regarded as satisfactory by the bench of bishops. In a conversation with Mr. James Knowles, editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, he said: "*There's a something that watches over us; and our individuality endures. That's my faith, and that's all my faith.*" Though he could not describe or define "the something that watches over us," Tennyson held it to be very real and unescapable.

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains —
Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns?

Is not the vision He, though He be not that which He seems?
Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?

Earth, these solid stars, this weight of body and limb,
Are they not sign and symbol of thy division from Him?

Speak to Him, thou, for He hears, and spirit with spirit can meet —
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see;
But if we could see and hear, this vision — were it not He? •

A friend once said to Tennyson: "My dearest object in life, when at my best, is to leave the world, by however little, better than I found it. What is yours?" His answer was: "*My greatest wish is to have a clearer vision of God.*" That wish was one of the great passions of his life. Its deep undertone mingles with all the music of his song. When the vision failed him, he said, —

Who knows but that the darkness is in man?

And when his logic was powerless before his doubt, he took refuge in the counsel of his "Ancient Sage":—

For nothing worthy proving can be proven,
Nor yet disproven; wherefore thou be wise,
Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,
And cling to Faith beyond the forms of Faith!

When compelled to face what we are accustomed to call the problem of evil, to look on

— Nature red in tooth and claw
With ravin,—

to consider the wrongs and sorrows that afflict the lives of men, Tennyson seems to have taken refuge in the thought that this world might be the imperfect work of some Power below the Highest, a work which the Highest would some day take in hand and finish. Thus "The Ancient Sage":—

But some in yonder city hold, my son,
That none but gods could build this house of ours,
So beautiful, vast, various, so beyond
All work of man, yet, like all work of man,
A beauty with defect—till That which knows,
And is not known, but felt through what we feel
Within ourselves is highest, shall descend
On this half-deed, and shape it at the last
According to the Highest in the Highest.

But whatever might be the true explanation of evil, Tennyson rejected, with passionate denial, the common notions of God and of a world smitten by His curse. "Men have generally taken God for the devil," he said to Mr. Knowles. "The majority of Englishmen think of Him as an immeasurable clergyman in a white tie." How he felt towards the doctrine that was held for religion by "the majority of Englishmen" he has made known in his terrible poem called "Despair":—

A man and his wife having lost faith in a God, and hope of a life to come . . . resolve to end themselves by drowning. The woman is drowned, but the man rescued by a minister of the sect he had abandoned.

Is it you, that preached in the chapel there looking over the sand?
Followed us too that night, and dogged us, and drew me to land?

* * * * *

See, we were nursed in the drear night-fold of your fatalist creed,
And we turned to the growing dawn,—we had hoped for a dawn
indeed,

When the light of a Sun that was coming would scatter the ghosts of
the Past,
And the cramping creeds that had maddened the people would vanish
at last,
And we broke away from the Christ, our human brother and friend,
For He spoke, or it seemed that He spoke, of a Hell without help,
without end.

What! I should call on that Infinite Love that has served us so well?
Infinite cruelty, rather, that made everlasting Hell.
Made us, foreknew us, foredoomed us, and does what he will with
his own;
Better our dead brute mother who never has heard us groan!

Ah, yet—I have had some glimmer, at times, in my gloomiest woe,
Of a God behind all—after all—the great God for aught that I know;
But the God of Love and of Hell together—they cannot be thought.
If there be such a God, may the Great God curse him and bring
him to nought!

Blasphemy! Whose is the fault? Is it mine? For why would you
save
A madman to vex you with wretched words, who is best in his grave?

Blasphemy! true! I have scared you pale with my scandalous talk,
But the blasphemy to my mind lies all in the way that you walk.

No more terrible indictment of the common doctrine of sin
and its doom—an indictment which is simply a forcible
statement of it—was ever put into words. As a counter-
part to this, and as a statement of the poet's own doctrine, we
have the lines entitled "Faith":—

Doubt no longer that the Highest is the wisest and the best,
Let not all that saddens Nature blight thy hope or break thy rest,
Quail not at the fiery mountain, at the shipwreck, or the rolling
Thunder, or the rending earthquake, or the famine, or the pest!

Neither mourn if human creeds be lower than thy heart's desire!
Through the gates that bar the distance comes a gleam of what is
higher.

Wait till death has flung them open, when the man will make the
Maker
Dark no more with human hatreds in the glare of deathless fire!

The "immeasurable clergyman" who has darkened the
world with his shadow, and the evil in which he has found
his reason for being, are no abiding parts of the universe.
The doom they have pronounced they have no power to
inflict. "The great God" has other plans for the time to
come, and these plans He will fulfil.

Let us pass on to survey the future of man and of society, as Tennyson saw them from his prophetic outlook. We can hardly call the writer of "Locksley Hall, Sixty Years After" an optimist. He certainly did not regard the world, as he saw it, as the best possible. Its wrongs and crimes roused him at times to a passion of denunciation that raged like the stormy wrath of Lear, and he returns more than once to the fancy of a finite God, whose defective work waited the coming and the redeeming touch of a greater than himself:—

O me! for why is all around us here
As if some lesser God had made the world,
But had not force to shape it as he would,
Till the high God behold it from beyond,
And enter it and make it beautiful?

But as we have seen, he was a believer in theistic evolution, and he held to his faith in "the high God" who is to perfect what has been begun.

Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.

That was the cry of his on-looking youth, and the faith of his old age took up and repeated the grand refrain:—

Only That which made us, meant us to be mightier by and by,
Set the sphere of all the boundless Heavens within the human eye;
Sent the shadow of Himself, the boundless, through the human soul;
Boundless inward, in the atom, boundless outward, in the Whole.

The world is as yet in its childhood.

For Babylon was a child new-born, and Rome was a babe in arms,
And London and Paris and all the rest are as yet in leading-strings.

What we see in the world is the beauty and frolic of childhood, attended by the lawless folly and selfishness and cruelty of childhood.

In a strange and powerful poem of his later years, the philosopher-poet vindicates the ways of God with the individual soul, and incidentally justifies the Maker's dealings with the human race.

The Lord let the house of a brute to the soul of a man,
And the man said, "Am I your debtor?"
And the Lord—"Not yet: but make it as clean as you can,
And then I will let you a better."

What hast thou done for me, grim Old Age, save breaking my bones
on the rack?

Would I had passed in the morning that looks so bright from
afar!

"Done for thee! starved the wild beast that was linked with thee
eighty years back.

Less weight now for the ladder of heaven that hangs on a star."

If my body comes from the brutes, though somewhat finer than their
own,

I am heir of this my kingdom. Shall my royal voice be mute?

No, but if the rebel subject seek to drag me from my throne,

Hold the sceptre, Human Soul, and rule thy province of the
brute.

I have climbed to the snows of Age, and I gaze at a field in the Past,
Where I sank with the body at times in the sloughs of a low
desire,

But I hear no yelp of the beast, and the Man is quiet at last,

As he stands on the heights of his life with a glimpse of a
height that is higher.

No man of our time faced the conclusions of scientific in-
quirers and the evils that seem to deny the high hopes of the
soul with a clearer eye and a fuller comprehension than did
Tennyson. No man felt the burden of the world's woes
more keenly than he, and yet his religious hope for man and
for society never surrendered to his doubt and fear. In his
youth he sang "The federation of the world," and when he
had grown gray amid battles and crimes, that seemed to
mock his hope, he could still "defy augury" and strike his
harp to the star-music of a better time to be.

On a mid-night in mid-winter when all but the winds were dead,

"The meek shall inherit the earth" was a Scripture that rang
through his head,

Till he dreamed that a voice of the Earth went wailingly past him
and said:

"I am losing the light of my youth

And the vision that led me of old,

And I clash with an iron Truth,

When I make for an age of gold,

And I would that my race were run,

For teeming with liars, and madmen, and knaves,

And wearied of Autocrats, Anarchs, and Slaves,

And darkened with doubts of a faith that saves,

And crimson with battles and hollow with graves,

To the wail of my winds, and the moan of my waves,

I whirl and follow the Sun."

Was it only the wind of the night, shrilling out desolation and wrong
Through a dream of the dark? Yet he thought that he answered
her wail with a song:

Moaning your losses, O Earth,
Heart-weary and overdone!
But all's well that ends well,
Whirl, and follow the Sun!

He is racing from heaven to heaven
And less will be lost than won,
For all's well that ends well,
Whirl, and follow the Sun!

Reign of the meek upon earth,
O weary one, has it begun?
But all's well that ends well,
Whirl, and follow the Sun!

For moans will have grown sphere-music
Or ever your race be run!
And all's well that ends well,
Whirl, and follow the Sun!

Let us now advance from man's earthly future, and see what Tennyson held concerning the life beyond the earthly. He held that a longing for a continued and a larger life was native and inextinguishable in the human soul.

Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly longed for death.

'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant;
More life, and fuller, that I want.

Mr. Knowles says:—

His belief in personal immortality was passionate—I think almost the strongest passion that he had. I have heard him thunder out against an opponent of it: "If there be a God that has made the earth and put this hope and passion into us, it must foreshadow the truth. If it be not true, then no God, but a mocking fiend created us. . . . I'd sink my head to-night in a chloroformed handkerchief and have done with it all."

Tennyson did not find this life a thing to be grateful for, if this life were all.

My own dim life should teach me this,
That life shall live forevermore,
Else earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.

It seemed to him blank blasphemy for one to affirm that the soul's hunger for life was simply a device of nature for

keeping the race from suicide, so that the meaningless tragedy-farce of history might go on to its foredoomed end. The sanity and veracity of the Universe were, so he held, at stake in the debate concerning man's future, and he refused to believe himself an inmate of a cosmic madhouse.

He regarded the future as a proper continuance of the life man has here, and he seems to have held that the advancing soul might sometimes hear greetings, even on this side of the gate, from those who have passed beyond it. In his poem of "The Ring," he says:—

The Ghost in man, the Ghost that once was Man,
But cannot wholly free itself from Man,
Are calling to each other through a dawn
Stranger than earth has ever seen; the veil
Is rending, and the Voices of the day
Are heard across the Voices of the dark.

What Tennyson thought of the facts that have now for some years puzzled the Society for Psychical Research, he has nowhere made public. The lines above quoted may mean that, in his view of it, there is no reason why "Æonian Evolution" should refuse to carry the soul beyond the bounds set for its earthly experience by the orthodox tradition. If read in the light of the poet's basal faiths and expressed convictions, no narrower meaning can well be given them. Tennyson believed in the coming of a time

When we shall stand transfigured, like Christ on Hermon hill,
And moving each to music, soul in soul and light in light,
Shall flash through one another in a moment as we will.

Of his friend, he said, —

Eternal form shall still divide
Eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet;

and in many places, he expresses his conviction that but for the darkness that is in man, the wider realm which he inhabits but does not see would be open to the eye of the soul.

The religion of Tennyson finds, perhaps, its grandest expression, certainly its most touching and solemn expression, in the poem that stands last in his collected works. He called it "Crossing the Bar." He might have called it "My Death Song." It is set to a strain as sweet and strong as that which tells of "The Passing of Arthur," in which we

hear the rhyme of the great tide that bore from the shore
whereon he strove for truth the soul of God's true knight.

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me !
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea ;

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

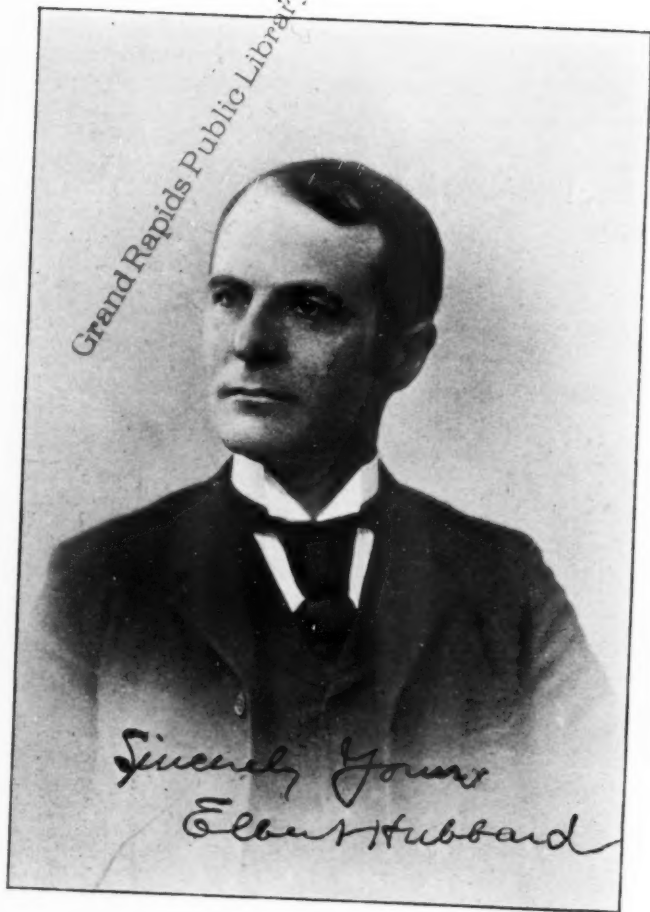
Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark !
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark :

For though from out our bourne of time and place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crossed the bar.

With such a hope the great bard, the brave champion of
the soul's right to its trust in God, sailed out into the twi-
light sea and was lost to the sight of men.

Then from the dawn it seemed there came, but faint
As from beyond the limit of the world,
Like the last echo born of a great cry,
Sounds, as if some fair city were one voice
Around a king returning from his wars.

Grand Rapids Public Library



Sincerely Yours
Elbert Hubbard

THE RIGHTS OF TRAMPS.

BY ELBERT HUBBARD.

GOVERNOR Lewelling's manifesto, directed to all boards of police commissioners in Kansas, in defence of the constitutional liberties of tramps, is a very extraordinary document. He maintains that the right to go freely from place to place in search of employment, or even in obedience to a mere whim, is a part of that personal liberty guaranteed by the constitution of the United States to every human being on American soil. Even voluntary idleness is not forbidden. If a Diogenes prefer poverty, if a Columbus choose hunger and the discovery of a new world rather than to seek personal comfort by engaging in some legitimate business, there is nothing in the laws to prevent his so doing, and the governor of Kansas proposes to protect the tramp "in the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Out of one hundred editorial clippings, taken at random from papers all over the United States, ninety-three speak in terms of disapprobation of Governor Lewelling's action. Many of these articles are designed to be semi-humorous; they take the whole thing as a joke, just as if Governor Lewelling wore the cap and bells. Other papers are libellously abusive, accuse the governor of consorting with anarchists, and say that he is inviting to the state a base and lawless element in order that he may thrive politically. Seven of the editorials out of the one hundred feebly commend the manifesto. Surely no one can accuse the governor of having bought up "a venial press."

A "Tramp Law" is quite a different thing from a "Vagrancy Act." Every state in the Union has on its statute books a law entitled "An Act for the Suppression of Vagrancy." The phrasing of this act is almost identical in every instance, being taken from the old common law of England. Section 1 of this law is as follows:—

All beggars and vagabonds who roam about from place to place without any lawful occupation, sleeping in barns, sheds, outhouses, or in the open air, not giving a good account of themselves, and all

persons roaming about commonly known as gypsies, shall be deemed vagrants and be liable to the penalties of this act.

The penalty is imprisonment in jail or at hard labor for a period not exceeding sixty days. When the prisoner has worked out his time, he can again be lawfully arrested, if found begging on the same day that he is discharged, and again sentenced, at the pleasure of a justice of the peace, and so on indefinitely. His redress is the right of trial by jury. This is provided for in Section 3: —

Such person convicted and desiring trial by jury, shall give a good and sufficient bond, the amount to be decided on by the court, for his appearance at the next term of the court of sessions. —

This provision of trial by jury sounds well, but "beggars who roam about" and "are not able to give a good account of themselves" and who "sleep in the open air" cannot give bail in the sum of five hundred dollars (the usual amount asked, although it can be made much higher). Let it also be known that a man in a town where he is unknown, be he chaste as ice and pure as snow, if he has no money, cannot "give a good account of himself." He cannot telegraph to distant friends, his word is not accepted, he can produce no witnesses to testify to his good character. He is in the eyes of the law a vagrant, and may legally be robbed of his time, enslaved for two months, and compelled to labor for this period without reward.

Beside not being able to "give an account of himself," if it can be proved that he "slept in the open air" the night before his arrest, and that, being hungry, he asked for food, both counts are construed against him as a proof of his guilt. The state legally regards him as a criminal, and being such, the state has the right to confiscate his labor. The taking of food by force to satisfy the demands of hunger is not a crime, but the asking for food is. Hunger, in the United States of America, is crime.

Our forefathers brought many useful things from England, and they brought also some things which they would have been better off without; among these are certain legal enactments. All progress is marked by the repeal of bad laws; civilization demands fewer laws, not more. Courts would rather perish in senility than act without precedent, and there is nothing that legislators hate so much as the throwing away of a law. If it has stood for two hundred years,

the fact is always brought up as proof of its "divine origin." When it originated, why or how, no one knows—all this makes no difference; its hoary antiquity is proof of its virtue. They say to us: Look at our splendid institutions—observe our fabulous wealth, our progress along all lines! And this law you complain of has been on our statute books all the time.

The Vagrancy Law of England came into existence before the days of Shakespeare, in this wise: Each parish was expected to care for its own paupers. These paupers and beggars were not allowed to roam—not because the people in Kent, for instance, objected to their beggars going over into Sussex, but because the beggars in Sussex objected to visits from the beggars of Kent. It was a matter of competition. The beggars in Sussex worked their own territory closely, and they wanted no help. So when a stranger arrived in a place, everybody made it his business to see whether the new comer had "a visible means of support," and the law provided that he could be taken before a magistrate and be made to "give an account of himself." If he did not do this satisfactorily he could be severely punished. When he was liberated (if he escaped with his head) he probably made haste to get across the border into his own parish. There he stayed, and kept a sharp eye out on every stray dog who might have a more piteous whine than his own. The beadles, poormen, and wardens enacted the vagrancy laws, and the beggars did the rest.

In this country we say every man is assumed to be innocent until he is proven guilty. *This applies only to men who have money.* No peaceable, decent man with money is asked to "give an account of himself." But let him have no place to lay his head, and ask for a cup of cold water, immediately we may legally assume his guilt and drag him before the notary, who shall demand that he "give a satisfactory account of himself." Satisfactory to whom, forsooth? Why, to this justice of the peace. And who is he? Often a man who has failed in business, of small learning, no breadth of intellect, no sympathy. Of course we know that a police justice may be (and often is) an eminently honorable and able man; but those who are in position to know how much of the time of higher courts is taken up in undoing the blunders of rustic justices, have small esteem for rural judicature.

We have all smiled at the verdict of the western jury: "Not guilty, but we advise hanging on general principles." Yet this rule of convicting of vagrancy on general principles is to be seen daily in every police court. Prisoners are run in on every conceivable charge, and where the testimony is not sufficient to convict, the judge gives the victim thirty days for vagrancy. It is a very common custom, indeed, to try a man on one charge and convict on another. Jesus of Nazareth was a victim of this kind of justice; and if He should come back to earth to-day and "pluck the ears of corn," we might not crucify Him, but we should certainly give Him sixty days, with a vigorous injunction to get out of town as soon as He had worked out His sentence.

In Russia strangers are often requested to leave the country; a mere hint usually answers the purpose. We comment on the subject (after we have gotten beyond the border), and draw invidious comparisons between darkest Russia and our own land of the free. But in the United States, every day, in every city, innocent men are ordered to "leave town." No law exists in America that gives a judge the right to deport a citizen; yet the right of deportation is constantly assumed, not only by judges but by ignorant policemen as well. It is a barbaric precedent of which courts and officers constantly avail themselves. Of course I anticipate the glib rejoinder — "The man need not go if he does not care to." We also have the privilege of remaining in Russia, but somehow we prefer to heed the "friendly advice."

However, no one is "ordered out of town" in this country unless he is (1) penniless or (2) an ex-convict (or believed to be one). There is a natural penalty attached to being homeless and an ex-convict which, God knows, is severe enough. Beyond this, must frail humanity be ground into the dust of degradation by those in authority? Are the unfortunate to be forever disgraced and shall they be eternally spit upon by society? Our law provides that no man shall be tried twice for the same offence, but how about the ex-convict who is ordered always to "move on"? Have we no pity? Are we dead to compassion? Shall we forever withhold the strong and friendly hand from those who most need our help?

If tramps were as numerous when work is plentiful and business good as when work is scarce and times dull, it might

do to indict the whole fraternity. But the fact is that while there are a certain number of vagrants at all times, yet the number never grows so large as to be troublesome excepting immediately after a financial panic. When the mills, mines, and factories are prosperous three fourths of the "vagabonds" disappear. Wise men are to-day looking upon the tramp as a product; they regard the actions of these men whom we call "vagrants" as being determined by causes over which they have no control, and question whether in punishing them we are not treating a symptom instead of removing a cause.

For many years gypsies were hanged in England. Vagrants were whipped naked at the cart's tail, their eyelids cut off, and the unhappy wretches exposed to the burning sun; their noses slit, their foreheads branded with a letter V. The stocks, gibbet, cross, thumb screw, and whipping post were all used to make men "good." Jack Ketch was employed, and masked headsmen did their work, until there came a time when no one could be found brutal enough to enforce the laws that the law makers made. Then things began to mend. But we still have the same loose statute under which these wretches suffered, only we have lessened the penalty. The question that interests us is: Should judges be shorn of the power to persecute?

A Maryland judge has recently said:—

If these vagabonds do not think the tramp law is constitutional, let them raise a fund and carry their case to the appellate.

As this suggestion comes from a learned man of law, it is certainly worthy of respect; I trust no one will risk the charge of contempt of court by smiling at it.

The financial panic of 1873 took the bread from many thousand men, and they began to wander. Someway we always think that things are not so bad somewhere else as they are here, so we search, often aimlessly, for a way to better our condition. The term "tramp" has been in the dictionary for many years, but we can thank the hard times of 1873 for recoinning the word.

The vagrant law was thought, in many states, hardly to cover the tramp question. Suppose a man did not even beg, and was not guilty of sleeping in the open air, yet should go about seeking work; what then? Could he be convicted of

vagrancy? No! so a new law was devised, called a "Tramp Law." Among the first states to adopt a tramp law was the state of Delaware. Delaware seemed to go into this thing not to make men good, but as a purely financial stroke. In the fruit season great numbers of men came into the state from Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia, and offered to work at prices much less than the regular inhabitants of the place. These men were not vagrants, for many of them had a little money. They did not beg; they sought work, and there was not work enough for them all. So the legislators devised a scheme for their benefit; it is called "An Act Concerning Tramps." It is to be found on page 963, Chapter 155, Revised Code, Laws of Delaware. Passed March 27, 1879. Section 1 reads thus:—

Any person without a home in the town in which he may be found wandering about without employment, shall be deemed a tramp and dealt with accordingly.

Section 2 provides that it shall be the duty of all officers of the peace to arrest tramps wherever found. These tramps are set to work for terms varying from one to thirty days, but can be immediately rearrested on being discharged. It is generously provided that this stranger, who has no home in the town and who is looking for employment, can appeal from his sentence and demand a jury trial on giving bail to the extent of five hundred dollars.

Will the reader please note that (1) a tramp is a man who has no home in the town where he is found; (2) he is seeking employment. To have no home and to seek employment is a crime in many parts of the United States.

Such a law as this is the one against which Governor Lewelling of Kansas has issued his manifesto. For this act he has been ridiculed, jeered, calumniated, reviled. His sin is that he has acted without precedent—we will forgive anything but this. Yet people who know the governor of Kansas consider him a strong and fearless man. He asks no political favors; he expects no reward. He does his duty as he sees it. He protects the weak, the unfortunate, and even the vicious, in their rights, as quickly as the strong, the rich, and the influential.

I make no defence of trampism nor vagabondage. I have lived with tramps and travelled with them for days; I know their ways, manners, and habits. As a class they are not

honest or truthful. Their way of living is not to be commended. But among them I have found honest men, unfortunate men, men of good hearts and generous impulses. Among tramps there are rogues and many of them. A tramp may be a criminal and he may not. If he is a criminal punish him for his crimes, but do not punish him for being a tramp; to do this may be only to chastise him for his misfortunes.

The tramp of the West is a much better article than the tramp found about Eastern cities. There is an army of tramps that start in every June at Arkansas and move northward with the wheat harvest. These men work, often irregularly, but they are a positive benefit to the farmers rather than a disadvantage, and many farmers in Kansas recognize this fact.

During the past year great numbers of men were thrown out of work in Colorado, Montana, and Nevada by the closing of mines. Many of these men had very small means and they sought to reach friends in the East. They came into Kansas by hundreds, and those who were hungry and penniless were criminals in the eyes of the law. Not all police officers are dead to pity, nor are all justices unjust; but in many places innocent men were thrown into prison, insulted, disgraced, robbed of their time, because the price of silver was so low that it no longer paid to mine it. Instances of cruelty in the name of law came to the attention of Governor Lewelling, and paraphrasing Burke he said, rightfully: "The great state of Kansas cannot afford to indict a whole class when they are what they are through a calamity; I will exert my influence to protect the innocent."

The mines are now starting up again, and in a few months thousands of workmen will be needed; poor men will leave the large cities in great numbers to reach the world of wealth that sleeps beneath the Rocky Mountains. These men will cross the splendid state of Kansas, and, thanks to Governor Lewelling, they will not be regarded by the state as criminals.

I will name but one incident, out of many I have seen, where a tramp law has worked a wrong. A moulder by trade, in a village in Maine, lost his position by the shutting down of a mill. Leaving his wife and seven children, he found work in a city forty-five miles away. He was a simple

hearted man, who loved his wife and babes. Each Saturday night when he received his pay, he paid his board and sent all of the rest of the money to his family. One Sunday morning there came to him a telegram saying his wife was sick unto death. There were no trains running on Sunday; the man, dazed by grief, started to walk to his stricken wife. Night came on; he slept in a barn. In the morning he asked for food at a farm-house. The farmer was a constable; he took the man into custody as a tramp, and he was sentenced by the justice of the peace to thirty days' imprisonment. This justice, in response to the man's appeals, said, "You tramps are the greatest liars on earth." After serving out his sentence the man's mind (never used to self-reliant action) was shattered, and he begged on the highway; again he was sentenced. At the end of sixty days he reached what had been his home to find his wife dead and his children in an orphans' home. The man is now in an insane asylum.

All honor to the governor of Kansas, and to all others in authority who seek to give freedom where it is due.

THE ASCENT OF LIFE.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

PART V.

THERE are evidently higher conditions with which the human soul becomes unified. One assertion of religious people is assisted by soul science, namely, that the human mind or its immaterial essence is capable of resisting its own advance. In unification with the vibratory conditions of a higher plane, participation in the beginnings of the spiritual life is enjoyed. Thus an alliance with a higher and more sensitive existence necessitates further sensitization in the human being. Other grades of similar processes are in operation when the wild dog is domesticated, and through many generations is taught, handled, mesmerized, sensitized, and rendered much more capable of both gladness and suffering.

The division of completed man as understood by the Buddhist soul science may here be given; not because its correctness or incorrectness is suggested, but because it is interesting to consider the conclusions arrived at by others. Their statement is that a perfected man would possess, or in the course of his individuality's completion would have previously possessed, in all, the following elements: (1) the body; (2) the vitality; (3) the astral body; (4) the animal soul; (5) the human soul; (6) the spiritual soul; (7) spirit.

Their explanations of the fourth, fifth, and sixth principles are partly in accordance with the conclusions suggested by the mesmeric experiments, namely, that they are not divisible into separate entities but develop upwards. The terms merely suggest the grades of improvement of the same ego. The advance is partly illustrated in the development from the animal or the lowest savage to the highest existing man. It is said that the fourth principle, the animal soul, is the seat of the passions, and of that will-force which is utilized in the mesmeric experiments. The fifth principle,

the *manas*, is spoken of as the seat of the reason and memory. The claim is that this fifth principle is not yet fully developed in ordinary man, and consequently that the sixth principle is embryotic. Yet it is also said that from this sixth principle the human soul gains those enlightenments which arrive to the searcher of wisdom, because it is asserted that this sixth principle contains attributes of omniscience more or less latent within it.

In this small treatise the author has preferred to confine himself solely to those deductions which his own experiments seem to insist upon. To those interested in their own advance it can matter little whether it is their sixth principle which assists them or the all-knowledge with which we find the human soul to be in correspondence. It is evident that the sixth principle, which is said to contain the attributes of omniscience, could only gain its powers from the all-knowledge of the seventh principle, and consequently its introduction may unnecessarily complicate ideas.

An objection to this division arises because it seems to place the power for receiving spiritual guidance too far off in the scale to accommodate itself to the fact that the lowest of the animal creation receives the guidance its sensorium requires as it becomes capable of experiencing needs. If this truth has been considered by the Buddhists, it has not, apparently, been set forth; and, as we said before, any acceptable system must fit in with all life from the lowest to the highest. The great desideratum is simplicity of law; and the Buddhists are so wedded to their favorite number seven that they seem even to create worlds, human principles, etc., in order to accord with the seven notes of music, the seven colors of the spectrum, etc. They may, perhaps, be right. But in the meantime we shall feel better satisfied to confine ourselves to our proofs, so far as they go.

As to the third principle, the "astral body," the writer has found no knowledge of it in his patients, and therefore declines, until further proof, to believe in its existence. Mesmerism proves sufficient to cover all the facts in a short way, namely, that when the soul is disencumbered of all bodily sensation, it is found to be in correspondence with some existence which is apparently omniscient. This is the royal fact so far as our knowledge now extends. And it is the only one which the ordinary reader will be apt to remember;

for an understanding of the different essences is evidently impossible to the human mind. Even electricity, which is perhaps the lowest form of these, is as incomprehensible to us as the highest grade of nature. That our internal faculties may discern and understand these essences during future development is probable. But at the present time it is an advance to discover that they are parts of a world of vibration.

The theory which is here advanced, that all sensation of happiness is caused by vibration and its unities, and that all advance of happiness implies increased capacity for increased vibration, meets with support in many directions. It is suggested by the effect of the emotions on the body itself. The more refined and sensitive a being is, the more it seems to vibrate when influenced by the intenser feelings; whereas in those who are living a dull and heavy existence these effects can be but little noticed. After excesses, the human being feels removed from possibility of unity with high and refined companionship and aspirations—and this, although without consciousness of being impaired. It is because the intenser and higher vibrations do not belong to the low plane with which he unwisely becomes unified.

While considering the theory, it is impossible to ignore the interpretation by music of all aspects of life. Music is the counterpart of life in spirit-speech. Animal life, bird life, etc., represent the passions, vanities, and aspirations in form. Music reproduces all these and the moods in sound. People are, for the most part, in one or other of the many phases which affect human life. These phases are the general sweeps or tendencies of the soul. If a soul could have an attitude, we would call them the attitudes of the soul. They influence mentality. Opinions fall into line with the prevailing one, and nearly every action is colored by it. It adapts an individual's life to itself. It is like the general water-shed of a territory. The rivers in it may wind and meander, but their general direction is certain. When a prolonged phase changes, the whole landscape seems to tilt up, and then the currents of opinion alter their courses. Phases are more noticeable in women than in men. They have their religious phase, their icy phase, that in which they mourn, their moral, or passionate, or dutiful, or love phase, the intellectual, the revengeful, the light-hearted,—the

phase which in continually craving sympathy exhausts everybody; or the self-sacrificing phase which assists everybody, — together with the opposites of these, and others.

* Now every phase has its own music. Not only this, but the separate phases can be produced and created in the human being by music — by leading the individual into an accord and unity with those vibrations which are the spirit speech of the particular phase. Gayety, melancholy, love for war and victory, love for dancing (which of itself interprets different grades of passion) tendernesses, love-making, despair, reverence; worship, can all, by turn, be given in music; and the sensitive human is mentally altered by each one, in succession. A musician can lead up to a finely conceived but terrible discord that will make the unhappy fear for their own sanity. Or he can take the same people and bring peace to their souls like the caress of a mother. There is no limit to it. It is the reproduction of the delights, griefs, mediocrities, fantasies, passions, or sublimities of the composer's soul. The right music *must* produce its own phase — that is, with those who are in a condition to unify with it.

Now what do we learn by seeing that every phase of the human soul has its counterpart and speech in vibration? What can these facts possibly mean except that music is the speech of the soul life? The mood or phase is produced in the listener when he is sufficiently sensitive to have the vibrations of his soul drawn into accord with those vibrations and tones and times which are the set language of the phase. Thus music unifies vibration. Consequently we understand how the musical voice of great-souled sympathy brings peace to the miserable by retuning discordances and by making them unify with the vibrations of a soul that is in health and consequently in happiness.

These facts suggest that if any spirit life succeeds human life, some, at least, of the passions will still be present. But a man who is in an impaired condition, with his soul walled up or his system unstrung, is insusceptible to these soul perceptions. He is a harp in a rain-storm — sadly tuneless. No one realized this better than David, the singer of Israel. Indeed, with the new knowledge of nature as it is, the Bible becomes a living thing, especially for those who have been agnostic — fairly quivering as it is with the loves, hates,

aspirations, mistakes, and truths of the older time. In its portrayal of the passage from the Yawveh of Israel to the God of Jesus it is our fullest record of the earlier evolution of the soul.

Again, human beings are chiefly moved by the music of the phases in which they usually alternate. Above these grades they do not readily understand, or, rather, do not unify. Regard the Italian nation filling their opera houses. They vibrate to the music of their own phases. The Italian opera has no high range; it rings the changes on passion, revenge, despair, sensuousness, etc. Few of the truest lovers of Italian opera care for the intellectualities of Beethoven. All those who seek the highest in music go through its evolution, and the result is that music which bears no message is regarded as trumpery, except for light pastime.

Every view of life assists the idea that advanced refinement is the advanced capacity for vibration, which is—sensitization.

Again, what is sympathy?—compassion? What is this tendency and ability to assist those in distress or who ignorantly sin against themselves? Let us repeat the previous words about the vivified telegraph wire:—“It is, throughout its length, permeated by an immaterial essence, possessing a capacity for such inconceivably rapid vibration that a shock or alteration in one spot is immediately felt along the whole wire. It is as sensitive in its entirety as in its part. This is sympathy sublimated—unconscious sensitiveness carried to a superlative degree.” Now this work was not intended to speak as to our future condition; but it is difficult to avoid considering the powers which electricity suggests that other essences may contain. It shows us a case of sympathy sublimated—sensitiveness carried to a superlative degree, and we go back and ask what we know about the compassion and sympathy of a highly spiritual man. The answer is that he is sensitiveness carried to a superlative degree. Some faculty in him can proceed to every condition of life that needs him, and alleviate the wretched by drawing them into unity with his stronger and happier and well-tuned soul. It recognizes as brothers and friends those who belong to the planes where all promise to be as sensitive in entirety as in part. Evidently, this interior existence and electricity are both ethereal essences, and electricity is vibration.

Naturally we make comparisons. This is not an argument, but an indicating of a line of thought. We may not at present be able to place our ideas beyond the power of reply, and perhaps demolition; but is it possible to resist the conviction that human advance means advanced capacity for vibration? Those who try to make life go pleasantly will incline towards the lines of proof which tend to demonstrate the existence of a condition in which sympathy and sensitiveness are carried to a superlative degree. One feels almost grateful to the electric wire for showing on a lower grade that such things are, in part, a reality.

In following this theory as to man commencing in the spiritual world as he becomes fitted to vibrate in accord with it and as a part of it, we are merely understanding in its further range that same process which has from the beginning brought to brain of man and animal every sensation of happiness that has ever been felt. There is nothing new about the law itself. And if this eternal continuity of the past makes us feel justified in extending it into any future condition of man, either mundane or otherwise, we may expect to find two soul qualities — first, this vibration which contains all capacity for happiness; and, second, its alliance with the all-knowledge. These pleasant ideas are speculative; but, because of their present reality, they are more than

“Hints and echoes of a world
To spirits folded in the womb.”

A fact which heretofore has needed explanation inserts itself at this point, not only to be explained but to be explanatory. It is the fact that agnostics and others who are sensitive and who think they have no religion cannot yield themselves to enjoying the highest class of reverential music without experiencing peculiar longings — a sense of incompleteness that has an approach to completeness within reach. They find that this sense of incompleteness is owing to their refusal to enjoy these suggestive yearnings, or to think they mean anything. They have refused religion in the almost universal mistake of regarding God as a sort of priest. When priestly teachings have been dropped they have considered that religion could possess nothing for them.

The effects of the error have been most unhappy. It will be seen that religion cannot possibly be a creed. Religion is

the receiving of God in the heart. It could not be even necessary to say "I believe in God," because the seeking or acceptance of the holiness and gladness in the ego makes any words unnecessary. It is true that a man *does* believe while accepting this, but it is also clear that there is no necessity for his saying so, except, perhaps, to help others. Religion is a phase, a tendency, a merging of the soul. On man's part it is the acquiescence in and acceptance and seeking of those phases which tell of continual improvement and wisdom and nearness to the Great Gladness. So that there can be no necessity for words in that which is entirely of phase. What use could be made of them? For worship? Yes, if one likes to use them. But words cannot speak the soul's phases; and what could God want of words? Men worship *because they must*, because of gratitude, which is love's endless necessity. And in this necessity and gladness the natural worship is the natural soul-burst of melody and music. Man never yet found words for gratitude. Music is the spirit speech, and the language of the phases. Neither ecstasy nor despair can find speech except in tone.

Consequently, when these explanations sink into the heart as truths, it is seen that no one by doubting or denying God's existence escapes from the laws regarding the language of music. When such an one listens, for instance, to grand cathedral music of a reverential kind, his sensations will tend to make him agree with the statement here made—that the influences which proceed from the Great Gladness to man cannot be systematically shut out without incurring almost intolerable gloom. This fact contains potent suggestion as to the methods for punishment in the life after human death. We repeat a line which cannot be too well remembered: "Refusal means discord, gloom, despair, madness; prohibition produces a dirge; acquiescence is a song." Throughout all nature these laws rule.

The supposed necessity for words has always been a stronghold for hierarchies and the medicine-men of savage tribes. By means of this alleged requisite, nearly all the people of the world have been more or less blinded to the simplicities of true religion. Thus we see among our own lower classes all manner of absurdities, arising from the same ideas which are prevalent in fetish worship. In fact, all rites and ceremonies of an expiatory kind are nothing else

than fetish worship. We find men flattering God with words while continuously cruel towards their wives. We see people whom no one would trust with sixpence gracefully sacrificing their comfort by standing up at the repetition of a creed. Much of the study of religious cults is the study of absurdity; but, because of the deep underlying truths, sympathy extends to man's attempts at improvement.

If any one doubts the power of music to produce a phase, let him examine what occurs at revival meetings. He will find that the preacher makes proposals, but that it is the organist who makes the hearts leap to accept them. The preacher's proposals contain, in effect, the simple necessity of man's turning towards the spiritual life and the holiness of nature. To this there are drawbacks because of priestly *etceteras*. But when the swell of the music vibrates into those whom the preacher almost brought into unity by his voice and encouragement, then emotion obliterates objections and the patient shuts his eyes to what he cannot believe and accepts the holiness and is thankful. Conversion, the opening of the ego to spiritual influences, is a reality: but a very simple one; and many people are converted long before they think they are; for it has nothing to do with words, but is the emotion which turns with the ego's complete consent and will towards the higher life.

Intellect has sneered at emotion; but we need not try to answer as to which has had the best of it, for each is necessary to the other. In trying to deify itself, intellect has so advertised itself and so placed its own praise in everybody's mouth that it takes some courage to suggest how little it is capable of. Intellect is emotion's pruning-knife. It should not be allowed to be the worst of stumbling-blocks on the road to happiness. There is a consciousness which insists upon the prophecy that emotion will mean happiness when the present processes of intellect are forgotten.

A verbal picture which represents any human life correctly must contain its sermon. The eloquence of facts is generally sufficient. Yet deductions are sometimes missed unless mentioned. And there are silent suggestions in the fact that unless the animal mind (or its essence) unifies with the conditions of the spiritual planes it is not and never can be a part of them. This is a reality of nature. No sacrificial blood can make a tadpole live on land till it develops

into a frog. The unhappiness to which a continuous and wrongly-timed clinging to the animal planes gives rise is also a fact which in every life enforces consideration. Age, with its experiences, is expected to acquire its dignity. The universal idea, apart from all religion, that age and experience should bring improvement, exhibits the innate knowledge of what a life's evolution should be.

But, on the other hand, poor, ignorant, animal human nature is not so bad as priests have painted it. Much harm has been done by going to extremes. The old teaching that "The heart of man is desperately wicked," has been a source of incalculable riches to hierarchies, and of inconceivable misery to humans. So far as counsel for criminals may judge of the worst of men, it may be said that this teaching, except as to rare cases, is highly improper. Criminals, as a rule, are very commonplace people. Not one in a thousand of them could be in any way made romantic; the newspapers try this, but counsel know better. The extinction of the devil, which was one of the many moral uses of the sense of absurdity, has removed nearly all the luridity of the general view. There were times, not so very long ago, when attempts to appear pyrotechnically bad did not seem so asinine as they do now. That terror of olden times, the daring atheist hurling his defiance at God, is now interesting to no one but the policeman who arrests him for making a noise — but not for atheism. Outside the ranks of insanity, the existence of a real atheist is difficult to imagine, in spite of his own assertions; and, if existing, he would be entitled to much compassion. Agnostics say they "cannot think God" (and they never will); but they do not say He cannot be felt. Opinions have much changed of late years. All the old ideas about slighting God, or helping, blaming, cursing Him, or taking His name in vain, now exist only as vulgarities — to be considered, if at all, in the police court; — for the Power of nature has no name, and Yawveh, the tribal deity of Israel, was so confessedly jealous of the other local myths that he made his own name vain.

To suppose this purblind creature, who is usually conscious of but little more than his animal necessities, to be in anything like a perfect condition, is like taking sand into the eyes to assist vision. We were told that "Man was made in the image of God." A wrong understanding of this

produced conceit. Man has always been in the processes necessary for developing attributes of God. The presence, from the commencement, of the guiding all-knowledge and the guiding capacity for gladness shows what the truth is. The continuous presence of these removes all sense of degradation in the considering of the fact that we arise through lowly forms. Rather than believe that man is near perfection, it would be more reasonable to expect that our present condition will be as unwelcome a thought in the distant future as the consideration of our simian ancestors is to some people of this century.

It will be seen that while life is a continuous endeavor, it is also, if taken rightly, an exceedingly happy one. The claim that our actions in our little span of seventy years could not much affect the past and future eternities of the individual seems highly dangerous. History teems with instances of men who after continued success commit some great sin and never succeed again, but continue in gloom and die ignominiously. In the most romantic life of English history, William the Conqueror was an avalanche of continued success until the judicial murder of Waltheof. After that, his degradation commenced. In all his scores of battles the only wound he ever received was one delivered by his own son. He who had been almost worshipped, died hated, ignominiously, and without friends. Personal watchfulness of life produces the conviction that when a man becomes lost in immorality he is removed — he dies disgracefully.

Almost every one will remember instances where men and women have sought to give license to imagination. In this case, liquors and drugs become a necessity to drown the unhappiness which arises from determined rejection of those promptings which indicate the true gladness. By means of such temporary neutralizers of unhappiness the man kills himself. It is always suicide, either sudden or slow. No process of reasoning, nor any individual experiment, has evaded the old truth that the wages of sin is death. We know by watching the approaches of this death that it is, so far as we see it, an unhappiness so intolerable that men try to hasten the end by further reckless excesses. They have confessed that they do so. What this kind of death means, in any possible subsequent condition, we do not know. But the despair of it, during the visible approaches to it, is suffi-

cient to indicate that our actions during our span of life are of the utmost importance.

Sin is discord. Unhappiness is discord. That which removes the possibility for unity of vibration with the incoming gladness is sin. A system which is deadened out of capacity for the health vibrations is like a plant kept in darkness, without water. It will die. Health, both physical and spiritual, means being in tune. In religion we are tuned by the great Musician.

There is no sudden compulsion about the laws of music. If discord be preferred, or if it seem like harmony, then let it be tested, by all means! Nature does not prevent this. It is the scheme. The world is controlled by laws or principles which immediately inform as to either harmony or discord. Where all is vibration, vibratory laws are necessities. These exhibit the perfection of gentleness and kindness; with no absolute compulsion in them at any time, and yet containing a terrible alternative for those who become crazed by their own chosen discords. The scheme has the stamp of the zenith of wisdom on it. Nature is no policeman. No one is seized and rushed off in any direction, either up or down. It leaves one either to accept harmony, or to depart in any direction to construct one's own Bedlam in the region of discord. Nature does not prematurely remove the discordant one. He kills himself.

At the time of writing, one of the ablest minds in England—a mind so replete with logic that to some people it has almost seemed to argue away the necessity for God—is at the threshold of the madhouse. He has written (in the course of the most celebrated controversy of modern times): "I do not see what materials there are for any religion, or, indeed, what would be the use of one, or why it is wanted. I think that religion would die when theology died, but that we can get on very well without one." This is not a case for reply. Nature is making the whole reply. It is too terrible for words.

Religion is not a series of intellectual nuts to crack. In its first stages it is almost too simple to commend itself to minds which are trained to be nutcrackers. The case reminds of one hunting for the spectacles which are already on his nose—too close to be seen. Neither can it be quite properly said to be a matter of "give and take," because it

is nearly all "take." But the better men are so constituted that they cannot accept continuous gifts without trying to make some return. And in this case all they can do is to utter gratitude in song, worship, and proper guidance of life towards the unlimited wisdom. It is the same, on a much larger scale, as the love for wives. For, as already explained, a woman's seeming nearness to the soul life assists man to idealize her, and thus to feel the modesty of the gratitude which regrets its inability to repay for gifts. The marriage worship leads immediately to the higher worship. It is part of it. For this emotion belongs to the spiritual planes; and this the great Educator teaches through the channels of the passions and introduces the (perhaps) first reality of holiness through entirely natural media. It will be seen that some such process is a necessity. For unless nature could teach religion without books and priests, then religion could be safely discarded. It is more ancient than books, or it is nothing.

This impulse to worship, which gratitude for benefits creates, is not yielded to because any power needs worship but because man cannot do without it. This coercive tendency holds a power for further spiritual development, because an inner soul of worship is the hunger to prove worthy, and here lies a medium for guidance and improvement in the further ascents. Necessity for worship is developed in advanced nature, — almost unknown to a lowest-grade man, though not to a high-grade dog — dogs having the advantage of acquiring it without the faculty for criticising weaknesses. This hunger to prove worthy, which is so very marked when dogs worship men, has not as yet been discovered in the cannibal natives of interior Queensland, who are confidently reported as exhibiting in themselves no sign of gratitude even after many gifts and prolonged kindness. This, however, does not deny that a latent capacity for gratitude may be present.

Religion, therefore, provides a holiness without merit. There is no merit in holiness. In a mother's overwhelming love for her babe there is no merit; it is simply a phase she would not alter for any purchase. The consideration of merit only commences in the better or worse observance of those duties and good impulses which are outcomes of holiness. The sensation of holiness is not the production of personal

merit; though merit is an outcome of holiness, through gratitude for gifts and the desire to be worthy, and to do nothing to remove the capacity for its inflow. One part, but not all, of the condition of holiness is the intuitive perception of the illumination that lies beyond and which leads with gladness towards wordless perfection. The happiness of the assurances of this phase creates a sense of necessity for its continuance. The clouding tendencies of passions are dropped, not because they are good or bad, but because they are a nuisance. They were proper when proper, but they do not belong to the higher existence, and they become rudimentary through voluntary disuse. When the soul is alone with the great Musician and Illuminator, the idea of merit, which is largely that of comparison, is merged in the impulse to seek further advance. The sense of holiness is neither given nor won because of merit, but simply because it is allowed to enter; so that the first requisite of man is to remain "in tune" and receptive. There is no merit in accepting an unquestionable necessity. One might as well speak of the merit of eating.

Some space is allotted to this in order to correct some prevalent ideas. The question as to whether this or that is good or bad is swallowed up or forgotten in the desire to continue the greatest necessity and happiness of life. For this result, much that is permissible in social life and which is called "good" will be dropped as readily as a great deal that is called bad. When the ego finds any quality or pursuit to be inconvenient and unprofitable for its advancement, it is indifferent to any name that may have been given to it by human moralists. It simply abandons it in order that its whole system may be in that healthiest of all conditions in which it is strung and tuned to vibrate in unison. The soul in its great journey cannot afford to be hampered with impedimenta.

It will be seen that this sense of increasing holiness, purity, and wisdom which leads the ego with a gladness that makes detracting influences seem absurd, is not a matter which can be deputed to an agent. There can be no such thing as vicarious improvement. That any soul should go to God through the suffering of another is the wildest idea that ever entered the human brain. In religion, man is alone with God. Intercourse with others will be "fruitful of good life's

gentle charities"; but in the main, and in his instruction, he is alone. Priests are useless, for how could they assist? — except perhaps in friendly encouragement. And what power could ordain men to be priests? Every man who will be so is a priest of the temple of the spirit.

Men criticise human life when they find that nearly everything desired is made desirable by ideals. They find fault with life because of its unreality when their ideals play them false, and they angrily say that life has no facts but only mirages. In a half-seeing way, they are right. But they are ignorant of the great truth, namely, that ideals *are the facts* — temporary ones, of course, that disappear only to make way for better ones. This is not the *fault* of life: it is a mainspring of its development. It is a scheme of nature. Ideals must be improved upon. The God of the Old Testament differs from the God of to-day even more than savage music differs from that of Mozart. If man could anchor himself to any thoroughly satisfactory fact of the material world, then soul progress would cease — just as the hermit crab chooses a home in an empty shell, loses his limbs through disuse, and retrogrades almost to the level of an oyster. For instance, no one has defined "beauty," because beauty is each man's ideal, and consequently must alter as his taste refines. The wearing out of any ideal is a certain sign that it has become unprofitable. A high ideal ahead seems to be a fact, and is in reality a factor; but an ideal whose uses are completed joins the other mirages of the past. Thus human life is really a succession of improving mirages. While we are straining toward these, we call them ideals and think of them as facts. But after being acquired and fully utilized they are more clearly seen to have been part of the educational processes of nature, and only realities while their appearance as such should be profitable. This is nature, whose teacher is delight. The winning of the highest is always happiness.

But the delights are not successfully repeated on the same grade. First, the winning may be of a mother's cake for a good child; then a prize in field sports, or a fight; then a school prize, a university medal, a professional success, a woman, an election, the commanding or the teaching of men; and all along the whole of it there is the consciousness of something better to be won — but not on the same grades. It is only by attempted repetition that the soul is tired. It

demands advance. It is entitled to enjoy its advance, or life would be a farce. A quick rush for experience!—the view beyond the animal grades!—the life for love of wife and children!—to know the heart wisdom, and to yearn to be removed for further advance!—and then the human part of life, or one section of it, is over!

Speaking vaguely, LIFE is not words, but emotions. It is intended to be a series of happy achievements, and the soul is intended to become tired with repetition and to recognize it to be unprofitable and wearisome. *Ennui* is a lash. The *blasé* man must always be unhappy. Even marriage happiness cannot continue unless it be woven with ever-refining ideals of the spiritual life. The *liaisons*, and the so-called marriages which are based on passion only, have no more chance to endure than a child's gayly colored soap-bubble.

Thus ideals are the nearest approach to facts in life; but only realities while they are being used, after which they join the mirages of the past. Consequently the only real fact of life is God—considered as the ultimate ideal.

Whether the people who have been idealized were worthy or unworthy of idealization, is of very secondary importance. Their value lies in the good effects produced in those who idealized. Any one who has assisted another to be capable of a deep friendship or love has accomplished an incalculable benefit, irrespective of his personal reliability. We must not inquire what our ideals consisted of, for nothing in the world is substantial. The proper source of gratitude is the consideration as to how they have helped us in first educating our higher nature. For instance, the western world owes an enormous debt to the Christian religion, not because it was free from myth, but because it illustrated the human spiritual existence and filled myriads of minds with improving ideals. The revered images of pagans and Christians, no matter how tawdry and *bizarre*, have done good work when they gave rise to ideals which were better than previous ones.

In conclusion, then, it will be seen that the term "spiritual man" properly means one who passes to the higher grades of nature—having entered life as an animal and as such performed its functions, but progressing on a continual ascent of ideals (which are nature's silent instructions of the soul) until these usual gradations of improving aims and incentives

to alert endeavor are one by one sought, acquired, enjoyed, utilized, found wanting, and discarded. For him, life becomes divided into two parts—wisdom and absurdity. The winning of a boy's prizes, or his vows of devotion to a golden-haired schoolgirl divinity, are not now necessary. Yet all such events, which have been passed, very kindly, to the region of absurdity, were at one time a wisdom for him, and he is aware that in any grade of life the energetic seeking of an improving ideal is always a wisdom—also that the discarding of it, when utilized, is a further and more advanced wisdom. All the vanities are seen to have their proper place and due succession. Yet life must advance; and he objects when Solomon bewails the bitter lees of his exhausted ideals instead of avoiding the ignoble melancholia of sated lust by ascending nature's higher grades.

In this way, and while understanding and sympathizing with all the earlier vanities which provide nature's instruction to the young, the student finds that the terms "good" and "bad," while never lost as to practice, are virtually swallowed up in more extensive meanings: that to be morally "good" is only an *etcetera* and adjunct and assistance towards wisdom; also that "sin" ranks in with everything which obstructs the way towards true happiness. The hunger for the continuance and increase of the internal illumination and gladness will not submit to obstruction. Inevitably, all else is for him an absurdity. Yet he sees how every grade of life, and the advancing years of every individual life, all have their differing duties, functions, vanities, and ascending ideals. Thus for him to witness the pretty natural vanity of a young girl is pleasing—knowing that at her age one of her chiefest duties to God is to appear at her prettiest and sweetest, and attract her lover towards marriage. In its unconfessed heart, all the world delights in the vanities of a young girl; but hypocrites and forgetful old men have said it was wrong. Spiritual men have also said it was wrong, because they only studied themselves and not nature, and have, like Paul, endeavored to force the necessities and ideals of their own high spiritual grade upon young people who were almost totally unfitted to receive them. Happily, these attempted spiritual anachronisms have in most cases failed, to some extent, and the unconfessed convictions of rightly-thinking people have much protected the young in

the gladnesses proper to their years against the crushing effects of wrongly-timed spiritualities.

Man has never attempted to improve upon the work of God without creating suffering; and every human being finds out soon enough, in due course of years and experience, that many of the gay pleasantries of early days inevitably pass into the region of absurdities. Yet the number of women who cling to these as the only good of life is peculiarly large. A suffering, a despairing sense of loss as physical beauty vanishes is experienced by the majority of women. Often it is only short-lived. But, with many, the first sense of relief that comes from the wisdom religion is accepted with difficulty as a glimmer of consolation. When they find that the road to desired pleasures will be forever a *cul de sac*, the most critical period of life arrives, for the ego will gnaw itself cruelly if allowed to remain self-inverted.

Indeed, the most prevalent disease is a spiritual one — the melancholia which at this time refuses to be comforted and yet makes the world resound with one long, uncontrolled wail for sympathy. In some form or other, this crisis comes to all people who avoid the spiritual life as long as they can. When nature, in its inevitable succession of alterations, frustrates intended schemes for happiness, very many people have to face one of two futures, namely, insanity or common sense. Many suicide in the attempt to find harmonies in the region of discords; while others, in the apathy that succeeds more or less frenzy, accept half-heartedly the glimmer which leads to the illumination. Then, afterwards, they know what happiness is, and smile pityingly at their former distress. Every one will remember instances where human lives underwent extraordinary changes in short periods of time — where people, especially women, who had for years idealized a refinement of almost everything that was inspiritual, became in a short time almost unrecognizable as their own selves. A shock, a grief, a separation, an illness, or perhaps a great joy, and the woman gains a glimpse of the spiritual life which forever afterwards makes her shudder at her own past.

Now these things have nothing to do with book religions, even though the good books may in part mention them. All these matters are a part of the inevitable processes of nature exhibiting themselves in different persons in different ways, and which in every human being provide new duties, func-

tions, alterations, and aspirations as the years advance. And it is only through an almost complete misunderstanding of nature that any trouble of the above-mentioned kind arises. Nature's first attempt invariably is to teach through delight; but, when this fails, she can teach equally well through the griefs and despairs created by wrong-doing and by the new comprehensions which thus come to the surface. All pure joy and all pure grief arrive at the same result, namely, the increased sensitization of the human animal soul, without which (as elsewhere explained) it cannot be a part of the spiritual grades. If this were not so, if grief had any other effect than this, then life would be an unjustifiable burden placed on those who are made to suffer while innocent. The fact is, though (as can be vouched for by unnumbered people) that the real rewards, the real values of life, the internal peace, the light that brings its revelation and conviction of gladdest advance, all come to those who suffer purely and advantageously, — and in such measure, too, that they think themselves overpaid for their sorrow. It is a fact which I suppose every one is prepared from his own different experiences to believe, that the prisoner wrongly imprisoned can be as happy as a free bird when he takes command of himself and makes his spirit supreme. These are no fantasies. They are the realities which provide the only possible justification to those who suffer, for the creation of a world in which they have been made to agonize, but in which and by which they gain the peace which passeth all the understanding of the human intellect. The human spirit may be absolutely supreme. The grand men of the Bible gave praise for their suffering. The martyrs of many different faiths have died at the stake gloriously happy; and this, not because the statement they died for was always correct, but because in the time of supreme travail the soul knew its God through the flames.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

The resemblance which the recent trial of Dr. Briggs before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church bears to the famous Galileo case has not failed to be generally remarked. In each instance it is the traditional view of a scientific question which seeks to suppress a rival opinion in the name and by the authority of a dominant religious creed. The defendant in the older trial was a layman, and his sentence included at least a nominal personal restraint; but the court which has recently ended its sittings exhausted the resources of its power, as did not the other.

The Holy Inquisition in condemning Galileo furnished the text for a thousand sermons against scientific intolerance and theological heresy hunting. Prevailing theories in science are usually as hostile to rival ones as was the Ptolemaic astronomy to the Copernican, or the Aristotelian biology to the Darwinian; and individual religionists of every school will always endeavor to wrap the mantle of their creed around as many as possible of their inherited ideas; but the Catholic church seems to have learned a lesson from the outcome of the Galileo case which her enemies, at least, are not likely to permit her to forget.

The triumph of the Copernican theory was not a victory of science over religion, but a majestic reproof to the ecclesiastical impertinence which presumes to decide questions that fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of science. Never since the final victory of Copernicanism has the Catholic church, or any of the Roman congregations, attempted again to place an obstacle in the path of scientific progress. Rome has most judiciously limited her dogmatic definitions to points, such as the immaculate conception, upon which it is impossible for any rival authority to speak, and which inductive science can no more deny than affirm.

The history of the Bible since the beginning of the Christian era may be divided into four periods — the formative, the canonical, the traditional, and the critical. At first the personal teaching of the apostles and apostolic men, and a practical conformity of life to the new code, were the chief subjects of thought and solicitude, and no question arose regarding the inspiration of written documents. But the Torah or Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets, were read in the assemblies of the faithful as in the synagogues from which they sprang, as was also the beautiful religious literature of Hellenic Judaism, certain written narratives of the life and words of Jesus, and other documents of various kinds which were venerated either on account of their subject-matter or as coming from the pens of saintly men or honored teachers. In this mass of sacred literature were included such works as the Book of Enoch, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistles of Clement, and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, as well as those now in the canon. At no place was there a collection of the works which were held sacred in the Christian community, and in each local church the names of the books known and made use of were different.

Then came a period of collection and criticism, in which all the sacred writings were gathered together and great disputes took place regarding certain ones, now called "deuterocanonical," such as Wisdom, Maccabees, Hebrews, Jude, and Revelation. This resulted in the general acceptance of a list drawn up by Pope Gelasius, containing the same books now used by Catholics, following the Alexandrian canon.

With the fall of the Roman empire and the decline of letters, at the beginning of the dark ages, all tendencies to a critical study of the sacred books and their sources died out, and there gradually developed, at least among the people at large, an extravagant worship of them, precisely similar to that which the Hindoo renders to the Vedas. They were looked upon as if they had fallen directly out of heaven, and came to be considered the foundation of the whole Christian faith. This period of blind acceptance of the Bible, on purely traditional authority, lasted through the Middle Ages and the early Protestant period. The Book was the standard of ecclesiasticism; rationalism continually straining in the direction of free thought, and mysticism in that of "free spirit."

The old Lutheran orthodoxy carried bibliolatry to its height; pietism forgot the letter in its insistence on the spirit; and finally the *Aufklärung* ushered in the age of a renewed scientific criticism of the Biblical texts. The Bible had been shaped by the critical scholarship of the post-Nicene fathers; and scholarship now claimed the right to review its ancient decisions in the light of a fuller knowledge.

The two men who were the pioneers of the higher criticism were Moses Mendelssohn, a Jew, and the Abbé Simon, a Catholic priest; but most of their successors were members of the state churches of Germany and Switzerland.

Although there have been few Catholic scholars at work in exactly that field, the church has scrupulously abstained from making any utterances upon the matter. The only papal or conciliar definitions ever made on the subject of Holy Scripture, were a decree of the Council of Trent in 1560, and a reiteration of the same at the Council of the Vatican in 1870, to the effect that the Holy Scriptures, including all the books of the Catholic canon, were divinely inspired "in all their parts." Neither council attempted to explain in what sense the Scriptures are to be held as inspired, or what degree of inerrancy follows from that inspiration. If a Catholic were to hold that the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta, or indeed all the books in the world, were inspired as well as the Bible, and that the inspiration of the latter did not preclude any kind of historical and scientific or even religious error, he might yet claim, with great reason, to be within the letter of the law.

The higher criticism has given rise to three schools of opinion on the Bible question, in the Catholic church as well as out of it. The extreme right wing holds to a verbal and almost literal inspiration, and an absolute immunity even from historical and scientific errors, and maintains all the traditional opinions regarding dates and authorship. The centre admits the possibility of mistakes as to dates and authorship, but maintains the plenary inspiration and absolute inerrancy of the texts themselves, whatever may have been their origin. The left maintains that, as the object of inspiration was the preservation, promotion, and application of religious truth alone, it is not inconsistent with errors in matters of science or history; and a few of the extremest

representatives of this school go so far as to allege, at least privately, that, since the doctrine of inspiration is a purely transcendental one, resting solely upon the authority of the church, and not capable of being scientifically tested, therefore any possible conclusion of the destructive criticism may be accepted without detriment to the Catholic faith.

Recently Monsignor d'Hulst, the scholarly rector of the Catholic University of Paris, published a pamphlet in which he described these three schools something as we have done, without directly expressing a preference for either. The Society of Jesus took umbrage at his toleration of the extreme left, and made every effort to bring about the condemnation of the little work at Rome, but it signally failed, and the Pope has taken precautions against a possible blunder of the Curia, it is said, by reserving to himself this question of the higher Biblical criticism, and refusing to allow the Sacred Congregations to meddle with it.

About a year ago Professor St. George Mivart, although a biologist and metaphysician by profession rather than a Biblical scholar, wrote several articles in which he predicted that the higher criticism would one day be accepted, with all its definitive results, by the Catholic church, just as the Copernican theory has been. These articles brought out a storm of criticism from several religious periodicals, and there ensued a spirited controversy in the pages of the *Dublin Review* between their author and the Bishop of Newport and Monrovia ; but no official notice of the matter was taken either by Professor Mivart's own Ordinary or by the higher authorities in England and in Rome. On the contrary, when, shortly afterwards, Mivart brought out his great work "On Truth ; A Systematic Enquiry," and sent a copy of it to the Holy Father, he received from him a special message of greeting and benediction ; and later still the Catholic University at Louvain offered him a chair in one of its faculties, whereupon that institution was heartily congratulated by His Holiness, in a special letter, upon its acquisition of so eminent and Catholic a *savant*.

Another of the leading Catholic thinkers of England has pronounced in favor of the higher criticism—the Reverend Dr. Barry, author of "The New Antigone," and a frequent writer on philosophical and sociological matters in the *Contemporary* and other English reviews. W. S. Lilley and W.

H. Mallock are to be assigned to a still more extreme position on the left flank of Catholic thought on the Bible question, as well as many others. These names include the foremost representatives of Catholicism in the forum of English thought. The scholarly élément of English Catholicism is, in fact, largely under the influence of the left or radical wing.

In Spain and many other Catholic countries, also, the higher criticism has a large following. The United States is more conservative, though several of our prominent theologians are known to belong to the "left." France is largely controlled by the centre or moderate school, but there are not lacking there representatives of both extremes.

In Germany, strange to say, most of the Catholic clergy are ultra-conservative on the Biblical question, notwithstanding the fact that several Catholic scholars in that country take a high and honored place among the scientific critical students of the Scriptures.

Rome has not spoken, and each school is free to make the best showing it can, and rest its case upon its own merits.

The prognosis of the different schools corresponds with their peculiar standpoints. The conservatives are convinced that the higher criticism is a foe to Christianity, and that the acceptance of its results would be the deathblow to the church. The radicals, on the contrary, sincerely welcome it as an ally; a Daniel come to judgment, to weigh Protestantism in the balance and find it wanting. They maintain that if the entire Scriptures were swept away, it would leave the church intact, and would strengthen the cause of Catholic Christianity as against the Christian and other dissenting sects. Of course, even they insist that the Scriptures, whoever they were written by, whenever they were written, and whatever be their degree of accuracy or inaccuracy, are to be revered in some sense as sacred and inspired documents; but they consider that bibliolatry, both within the church and outside of it, is one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of Catholicism and of Christianity in general, and that the great stress laid upon the accuracy and authority of the sacred books, as if they were the basis of faith, serves only to obscure the true philosophy of religion, and to divert attention from the only really inexpugnable evidences for the truth of Christianity; evidences which are practically the outcome of the principle, "The church her own witness."

Mysticism is indifferent to these issues, and ecclesiasticism no longer needs the Bible as a basis for its claims, so it seems probable that those denominations that base themselves wholly upon the sacred texts will be left to struggle alone against the advancing hosts of nineteenth-century scholarship, without official aid from that church which claims to depend only upon a direct divine commission and a continuous providential direction.

THE FARMER AND THE LAND.

(THREE SHORT LETTERS.)

BY W. D. MCCRACKAN, A. M.

I.

To the Secretary of the Grange of A.,

DEAR SIR: I am delighted to hear that your Grange has at last decided to take up Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" for discussion. As a class you farmers have apparently failed to understand your true relation to the land.

You will, I know, forgive my frankness, if I write exactly what I think about the political conduct of the farmers of this country in the past. East and West, North and South, you have been, since the war, the most abused of our citizens. You bore the brunt of the great struggle, and ever since you have been alternately deceived and robbed by the classes which that war enriched. You allowed yourselves to become the unconscious means of fastening upon this country an iniquitous system of taxation. I know how it happened. In the North they made you think that the solid South would march upon Washington, if you did not vote the strict party ticket. That was a bluff! All the time they were consolidating their pet scheme of so-called protection to native industries. You could have sent it flying to the four quarters of the globe with a turn of the hand. But you were looking the other way.

My dear friend, do not fear that I am going to bother you with a dissertation on the tariff; that is too stale a humbug to need exposure at this date. But before you seek to remove the wrongs others are inflicting upon you, take stock of the faults you yourselves have committed.

Eight years ago I met an Australian, who had travelled extensively in this country and had quietly and unostentatiously studied our economic life. He told me then that we should never shake off the protective system. "The farmers,"

he said, "are still voting at every election for their own destruction, under the impression that they are preserving the Union."

It was all a clever confidence game on the part of the politicians, backed by a horde of monopolists. Railroad kings, land speculators, and all the other manipulators of other men's earnings were in the deal. You have paid dearly for your experience.

At last, thank Heaven, there is an awakening of the farmers through the agency of the Grange. You are beginning to think. As it was through your votes, (although you gave them under a misunderstanding,) that the era of special legislation began, so it is your duty now to usher in an age of justice and liberty. You hold the welfare of the country in your grasp.

When I think of this slow arousing of the farmers I seem to see one of those pictures of Millet's, in which a toil-stained peasant leans for a moment upon the handle of his spade, and looks about him on the surpassing loveliness of the earth. You, too, have raised your heads from tilling the fields. What do you see? While you follow the plow, your earnings are being absorbed into a bottomless pit called monopoly. The country grows richer year by year; you remain poor. Labor-saving machines without number are invented; you work harder than ever for your pittance. Latterly they have taken to building a navy at your expense. For what purpose? Nobody knows — least of all you, who probably never have a chance even to smell salt water.

No wonder that you are ready in your wrath to rise against your tormentors, and inflict upon them the wrongs they have so long practised on you.

But wait! Be generous and be wise. Else you will kindle a class war, in which not justice but selfishness, not brotherhood but brute force, will conquer. Rather sweep away this mass of indirect, indecent taxation that falls heaviest on all the poor, whether they be farmers or mechanics. Search for the true cause of your abiding poverty while the country progresses. Found your new system of taxation, of social and economic regeneration, upon the eternal principles of justice. Above all avoid makeshifts and expedients. Bring the country back to first principles. You can do it if you will.

Your well-wisher, M. —

II.

MY DEAR SIR: As secretary of the Grange of A., I have been requested to send you the following questions relating to the single tax. After a good deal of discussion, a number of points seemed to remain unexplained. Can you favor us with answers?

1. If the single tax is a tax on land, will it not fall heaviest on the farmer?

2. Under the single tax will not the rich bond holder escape taxation?

3. Suppose the palace of a millionaire and the cottage of a poor man stand side by side on lots of equal value, would you tax the two men alike?

4. What about made land, like the Back Bay in Boston for instance?

5. Would not land gradually lose its selling value? How could the necessary revenue be raised from it?

6. Would not the single tax mean confiscation?

SECRETARY OF THE GRANGE OF A.

III.

To the Secretary of the Grange of A.,

DEAR SIR: I find that your questions are those which are generally asked by intelligent men, when the single tax is first presented to them. In reality, Mr. George answers all your objections in his book, but sometimes an explanation from a new point of view is exceedingly helpful. A little reflection will clear up these apparent difficulties.

1. The single tax is not a tax on land, but on *land values*, irrespective of improvements. It is not to be levied on all land, but only on valuable land. City lots, manufacturing sites, choice grounds for residences — these represent far more value than farming lands. At the present time, you farmers are taxed on improvements which, from the nature of your property, cannot be hidden or disguised. The rich owners of personal property in the cities can, and do, dodge their taxes with the utmost ease. Under the single tax many poor farms would probably be exempt from taxation altogether, and in any case you would all benefit equally from the common fund, raised on land values and created by the community.

2. When you speak of bonds and other papers of that sort, you must remember that they are merely evidences of wealth. They have no intrinsic value. You could burn all the bonds, stocks, and bills of exchange in the country in one vast bonfire, and the wealth of the country would be as great as ever tomorrow. But these papers *represent* wealth. Now wealth means things produced by man from the crust of the earth, no matter now much their original form may have been changed. A loaf of bread, and a diamond necklace, are merely the result of the application of labor to land. The single tax would, therefore, tax the bond holder, not according to the evidences of his wealth, but by collecting revenue from the raw material of his wealth, his lands and mines, the road-bed and franchise of his railroad, etc. In other words, he would pay at the same rate for the privilege of using his portion of the crust of the earth, that any of you would do for the use of his farm.

3. Have you ever seen the palace of a millionaire standing side by side with the cottage of a poor man? Such cases must be very rare, and can in any case only be accidental and transitory. But if you could find an abnormal instance of this sort, why is it not right to tax both men alike? They enjoy exactly the same privilege. If the poor man cannot improve his land, if he cannot put it to the best use of which it is capable, he must yield the field to some one who can. He ought not to be exempt from taxation simply because he is poor. No landlord to-day would dream of remitting rent, because his tenant was poor. It is exactly this false reasoning which has allowed the vacant lot industry to grow, to girdle every American city with a fringe of unsightly waste places, dumping pits, held for speculative purposes, to be sold finally at enormous profits by men who have not added an atom to their worth.

4. Again let me ask you: "Can anybody make land?" Man can dig up dirt from one part of the earth, and dump it somewhere else. But he must have some place to cart it to, even if he is filling up a swamp, or the bed of a river. There must be a bottom somewhere. The Back Bay district of Boston is not made land, but improved land. Of course in time the original and the accrued values would tend to become inseparable, like those which attach to the terraces and embankments built by the Romans in Europe.

5. The term value must be used with the utmost care. We must distinguish exactly between its common and its technical meaning. In ordinary conversation anything has value, which satisfies man's needs or desires; in political economy only that which commands a price. Suppose Robinson Crusoe had found a monster gold nugget on his deserted island; it would have had great intrinsic value, in the common acceptation of that term, but it would have been worth absolutely nothing in the technical sense. Robinson Crusoe might have starved to death with the gold in his hand. But restore the ship-wrecked mariner to civilization, and his gold would have brought a fortune. So it is with air, for instance, and endless other necessities of life. They have an enormous intrinsic value, but under ordinary circumstances you cannot raise money on them, as we say.

Now under the single tax, economic rent would go into the treasury of the community, instead of into the pockets of individual land owners. If the whole of the economic rent were taken, the selling, or technical, value of land might, and probably would, disappear. But the intrinsic value would remain as great as before. Land would be as indispensable as ever; it could not run away, and men would pay rent for its use as readily as they do now. It would lose speculative value, of course, since it would not pay to hold it for a rise. On the other hand, all land values would fall in equal proportion.

Again, when you speak of "necessary revenue," you fall into what seems to me a decided error. Have you, as an individual, a *necessary* revenue? Are you not obliged to cut your coat according to your cloth, to trim your expenses according to your income? Neither can governments be said to have necessary revenues. Appropriations are not a fixed quantity. There may be, perhaps, a minimum expenditure below which it would be painful to go. But there is no danger that this limit would ever be reached under the single tax. Computations have been made which show that the economic rent of the United States is fully able to pay for all legitimate expenses of government. Besides, you must realize, as clearly as I do, that we are indulging annually in an almost incredible waste of public revenue. The expenses of collecting our import duties swallow up a large portion of the resulting income. Think of the monstrous extravagances

suggested by our spoils system, our pension system, by the river and harbor appropriations, by the army and navy.

Then the beauty of the single tax is its flexibility. Land values rise as the prosperity of the community increases, they sink as the community grows poorer and needs less revenue. The single tax is a self-regulating thermometer of economic prosperity. For this reason it seems to me clearly to be a natural, preordained means of raising revenue.

6. Confiscation! Did you think about confiscation when you freed the slaves of the South? The private ownership of men was wrong; that was enough for you. Well, the private ownership of land is wrong; let that suffice. Land is not property, for property is something which has been produced, and no man can produce land. He can improve it, and the improvements are his, but not the land. Few people realize that the ultimate ownership of land is to this day vested in the whole people; not only in England, where all legal procedure acknowledges the Crown—i. e., the representative of the people—to be the owner, but also in the United States. In Massachusetts, for instance, titles to land can always be traced finally to the Company of Massachusetts Bay, to the commonwealth which settled upon this coast. The single tax would only be a return to the principles of our forefathers after all.

Every state has a right at all times to alter its methods of taxation. Do we talk about confiscation when changes are made in the tariff? And yet the burdens and profits are undoubtedly shifted about by every such alteration. Furthermore, you do not quite understand that the only men who would lose by the single tax are the mere land owners. Do you know of any farmer who is not also an improver of his property—who does not work his farm? I do not. But I know of certain wealthy families who live upon the unearned increment of their lands; certain speculating monopolists who sit about waiting for population to increase, that they may reap the profits. Can you tell me what function in the economic world a mere land owner performs? Let him go the way of the feudal robber barons who collected toll from helpless travellers, but never did a stroke of honest work themselves.

Confiscation! Why, it is the land-owning class who have been confiscating the equal rights of their fellow-men to this

planet upon which we were all born. If there is to be any question of compensation, let it be the land owners who shall compensate the landless masses, whom they have robbed of their birthright these many years.

But, my dear friend, you have made me write at greater length than I had intended. I apologize for speaking my mind so freely. If we single taxers did not believe that the farmers would be great gainers by the introduction of our reform, we would stop our agitation in its behalf. You have suffered enough by the patchwork taxation of our day. Rest your new system upon the ample strength of mother earth. She will bear it as surely as she has borne you and me.

Yours very truly,

M.

TO CHICAGO.

BY ARCHIBALD LAMPMAN.

YOU that with limitless daring and might of gold and decision
Have furnished the world for an hour with that gorgeous and vanishing vision,

The fair White City, filling the earth with the ring of your fame,
The glory of what you have dared, the triumph chant of your name,
City of dreams and tumultuous life, city of fortune, Chicago, —
Be this your beginning of lessons only; a mightier field
Lies beckoning grandly before you, a harvest whose riches shall yield
In the future of justice and right a goodlier festival,
When the fruits of the earth for your children are won, for each and
for all.

O men of the brave new land, the West, the impetuous City,
Give rein to the strength of your hearts, the fire of your dreams, and
prepare

Another and purer example of what you can plan and can dare,
The visible form of a life purged clean from the sins of the old,
The horror of weakness and want, the triumph of self and of gold,
The life of a kindlier law, without strife, without care, without crime,
Of growth and of freedom for all, of brotherhood sweet and sublime.

THE BANK OF VENICE.

SECOND PAPER.

BY HON. JOHN DAVIS, M. C.

My paper on "The Bank of Venice" in the December ARENA, seems to have disturbed the serenity of gentlemen in the region of Wall Street. One of them has given utterance to his feelings in the form of a six-page, type-written criticism. It is from Mr. George W. Catt, *World Building*, New York, and addressed to "Mr. B. O. Flower, Editor of THE ARENA." On page 1, Mr. Catt says:—

In the December number of THE ARENA, under "Notes and Announcements, Vol. IX.," you say you "publish the first of a series of calm and thoughtful papers on finance, which will be of immense value to the students of the money problem." If this first article of the series, "The Bank of Venice," by Hon. John Davis, M. C., is a fair sample of his papers that are to follow, THE ARENA will certainly have to recede from its proud position of being the review which stands for progress, honesty, and truth in all things.

Scarcely a statement of historical fact made in the article on the "Bank of Venice" is true. There was a time when this idea in regard to the Bank of Venice was held by people of repute in such matters, but it was shown to be erroneous more than twenty years ago. The history of the subject is too long for me to present in this note. Fortunately it is not necessary that I should present it fully, for the history of the Bank of Venice has recently been reviewed in an admirable and scholarly article by Professor Charles F. Dunbar, in the April, 1892, number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, published by George H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston. . . .

There seems to be no positive evidence that prior to 1584, Venice had a public bank.

Here we have an effrontery that dares pass judgment on the reputation of THE ARENA, and on the veracity of the writer of "The Bank of Venice," also the assumption that all men who disagree with the critic are not "people of repute in such matters." Before closing, however, the critic admits that many great writers are against him; in fact, almost all of them, except a certain Professor Charles F. Dunbar, whose superior "scholarship" has set the matter entirely at rest. All these assumptions and criticisms lead one to admire the audacity of the critic, whatever may be thought of his poor judgment and limited information.

Believing that one should do much for the advancement of truth, I beg the indulgence of my readers for a few minutes.

First, as to the matters of reputation and veracity, I will say that I have on my table a very large and valuable book published in 1884, about a dozen years after Mr. Catt says the idea of the Bank of Venice "was shown to be erroneous." This book is a quarto of six hundred pages, heavy ledger paper, bound in strong ledger style, with gilt edges, and magnificently illustrated and embellished with the Treasury of the United States, the Bank of England, La Bourse of Paris, and other great bank edifices, and the faces of about one hundred of the very *élite* of the bankers and financiers of America. It seems to have been created, regardless of cost, for the information of financiers, and for the embellishment of the counting houses and parlors of "reputable" and wealthy people. This large, useful, costly, and magnificent book is entitled: "History of Banking and Banks from the Bank of Venice, founded A. D. 1171, to the year 1883, including the establishment and progress of the present National Banking System of the United States, with important statistical information connected therewith; by Sidney Dean, editor-in-chief, assisted by gentlemen eminent in banking and letters."

Assuming that the united wisdom of so many "gentlemen eminent in banking and letters," is entitled to the respect of even Mr. Catt, I beg to quote somewhat freely from the book. Under the heading, "Bank of Venice," these gentlemen occupy fourteen quarto pages, from which I select as follows:—

All historians agree that the Bank of Venice was the first national or state institution of its kind in modern ages. The causes of its creation are to be found in the history of the republic, its situation, the character of its people, its industries, and its commercial relations with other nations. . . .

In these turbulent times, and heralded by such god-mothers as war, pestilence, and revolution, the first banking institution of the modern world found existence. The finances of the republic were exhausted by this series of calamities; the doge, in 1171, according to some authors, and in 1157, according to others—probably at both dates—was obliged to have recourse to a forced loan, exacted from the most opulent citizens, each being required to contribute according to his ability. . . .

Storch, in his notice of the Bank of Venice, says: "As the interest on its loans was always punctually paid, by the government, every credit inscribed on the book of the Chamber of Loans might be regarded as a productive capital; and, by law, these inscriptions, or the right of receiving interest on them, could be frequently transferred from one citizen to another. This practice, in the course of time, demonstrated to all the lenders the simplicity and ease of the process of paying and receiving debts among themselves by transfers upon these books, and from the moment that the advantages that commerce might derive from this method of paying were perceived, bank money was invented.

"The reimbursement of these loans to the government in all probability soon ceased to be thought desirable. Every creditor was reim-

bursed when he transferred his claim on the books of the bank, and the saying became common in Venice: 'The good bank is that which does not pay.' There is reason to believe that irregularities crept into the uses which the merchants made of the bank, and this probably had much to do with the numerous alterations which seemed to be made in its organization; but the fact is patent that the more these credits were employed, the more the demand for them increased, the more rapidly money flowed into the treasury, and the more readily the government could afford to receive payment of its revenues in the funds of the bank."

Savary, in his "Par fait Negotiant," sums up these instructions of the bank thus: "If Jean, Pierre, Claude, and Jaques, and consecutively every inhabitant of the same town, had but one banker, who kept an account with each of them in a register provided for the purpose, this banker could make all their reciprocal payments without moving a sou of their money, since it would suffice simply to write upon his register the receipt from one, and the payment to another; from which would result two things—they would avoid the trouble of receiving and counting money, and the expense of each having a cashier and bookkeeper. . . . Every payment was made by a simple transfer of a credit upon the books of the bank from one to another. He who was a creditor upon the books of the bank became debtor as soon as he assigned to another, who thus became creditor in his place; and so on from one to another, the parties simply changing their positions of creditor and debtor without any necessity of a payment in money."

* * * * *

Savary, in his "Dictionnaire de Commerce," article "Banque," says: "The necessity which existed of making occasional payments in money gave rise to the opening of a cash office (*Caisse de Comptant*), for those who wished to be paid in coin. Experience proved that this measure did not cause any sensible diminution in the funds of the bank."

In the modern acceptation of the term, the business of a bank consists of three parts, circulation, deposit, and discount. The Bank of Venice started as a *chamber of loans*. The credits or evidences of the loans on the bank books, by their transfers, fulfilled the part of circulation, and occasioned the name "*Banco del Giro*," to be applied to the institution. Later on, about the year 1423, there was attached to it a cash office, which received and returned deposits. Still later, about the year 1587, there was attached to the bank a discount office. But these attached branches in no way interfered with the operations of the original system of transferable credits in the payment of debts, which gave to the Bank of Venice its distinctive character, as compared with other banks.

On page 5 of his letter, Mr. Catt says:—

December, 1805, found Venice under the control of the French.

I am surprised to find this chronological inaccuracy by a man of "repute," like Mr. Catt. Alison says that Napoleon caused the city of Venice to be occupied by sixteen thousand French troops, under the Treaty of Milan, May 16, 1797. On the twenty-fifth

of that month, Napoleon wrote to the Directory in Paris as follows:—

Venice must fall to those to whom we give the Italian continent; but meanwhile, we will take its vessels, strip its arsenal, destroy its bank, and keep Corfu and Ancona. — *Alison, Vol. IV., page 350.*

From that moment the Venetian republic lost its independence, and the Bank of Venice ceased to exist.

On page 6 of his letter, Mr. Catt says:—

In reference to the premium or *giro* on bank money, the facts seem to be that the bank used a different denomination of account from the usual, a difference of twenty per cent, and that it was really not a premium; that is, a depositor deposited twelve ducats at the bank, and was credited on the books with ten ducats; another depositor drew out sixty ducats, and was charged with fifty ducats. Thus, when stripped of legend, the Banks of Venice seem to have been very common, every-day institutions. It is only the investigation of the last score of years that has brought these facts to light.

The word *giro* is carefully written with pen and ink in Mr. Catt's letter, hence he must mean what he says, showing that he knows no distinction between *giro* (circulation), and *agio* (premium). The explanation of the premium on bank funds, by Mr. Catt, is ridiculous, as depositors never "drew out sixty ducats" or any other sum from the Bank of Venice. But take his statement as it is, and it will be seen that bank ducats, or funds, were more valuable than the current coin. Mr. Catt speaks of "the *Banks* of Venice," using the plural. *Alison*, *Napoleon*, *Dean*, *Colwell*, and other orthodox authors, including the "scholarly" Professor *Dunbar*, use the singular, as if "the Bank of Venice" was somewhat distinct in character from the "common, every-day institutions."

On the same page, Mr. Catt says:—

Many of our modern writers in English have contributed to the error; among them the *North American Review*, September, 1885, "Our National Banking System," by Edward H. G. Clark; several American and English Encyclopædias; President E. B. Andrews in "Institutes of Economics," 1891, seems to have credited the tradition. Until something definite appears to the contrary, the facts as set forth by Professor C. F. Dunbar would appear to be conclusive.

This is quite a surrender of the whole case. It shows that numbers, respectability, and scholarship are on the side of THE ARENA and Congressman Davis, and that Professor Dunbar and Mr. Catt are a forlorn hope in opposition. And besides this array of scholarship and numbers opposed to him, Mr. Catt might have added that, in 1891, Professor Dunbar published a college text-book for the use of students in Harvard University, entitled "The Theory and History of Banking," in which he mentions "the Bank of Venice" as an institution somewhat different from

modern banks, and playing a great part in the commercial history of the time. This was nineteen years after "the often repeated and long accepted legend respecting the origin of the Bank of Venice" had been, according to Professor Dunbar, proven to be erroneous. Yet I am unable to find in this college text-book any reference to, or explanation or denial of, the historic statement that a chamber of loans was established in 1171, out of which grew, in successive centuries, the Bank of Venice, whose book credits were used as funds of ultimate payment, by mere transfers on the bank books, with no coin or bullion (or pretense of any) in the bank vaults. That is the main point in dispute. Did not the professor, by his silence, mislead his pupils, and tend to perpetuate the error, which, a year later, he thought worthy of fifty-four pages of earnest and scholarly denunciation in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*? From whence came his new light and new-born energy on the subject? Now, letting the professor's delinquency in 1891 balance his enthusiasm in 1892, the gentleman in the *World Building*, New York, is left quite without company among the people of "repute in such matters."

But I have another authority which stands high among financiers and "gentlemen eminent in banking and letters." I refer to an able and scholarly work by the late Stephen Colwell, of Philadelphia, entitled "Ways and Means of Payment." In October, 1878, the *Bankers' Magazine*, of New York, published Mr. Colwell's chapter on the Bank of Venice, with the following prefatory remarks by the editor:—

The excellent work of Mr. Colwell, entitled "Ways and Means of Payment," which ought to be in the library of every financier, has for some time past been out of print. Among its interesting chapters is that giving the history of the Bank of Venice, an account which is considered the best in the English language of that institution.—*Bankers' Magazine*, New York, October, 1878.

That true statement by the *Bankers' Magazine* places Colwell among the very highest authorities. His exhaustive researches included the original documents in the archives of Venice, and his testimony is certainly worthy of respect among "people of repute in such matters." Mr. Colwell says:—

In the year 1171, a Venetian fleet of a hundred galleys was sent to avenge an outrage perpetrated by the Grecian emperor, Manuel, upon Venetian merchants in his empire. This fleet humbled his pride, and compelled him to give satisfaction. The contest is memorable for having given origin to the Bank of Venice. . . .

On this occasion, and by the determination of the Great Council, the office of Chamber of Loans (*La Camera degl' Imprestiti*) was established; the contributors to the loans were made creditors to that office, from which they were to receive an annual interest of four per cent. The Bank of Venice gradually assumed the form under which it was, for

many ages, the admiration of Europe, the chief instrument of Venetian finance, and the chief facility of a commerce not surpassed by that of any other nation. Its progress and form were, however, clearly that which naturally grew out of the position of the first contributors to the loan. . . .

The reimbursement of the loan ceased to be regarded as either necessary or desirable. Every creditor was reimbursed when he transferred his claim on the books of the bank. From being convenient and valuable as an investment readily obtained, and as readily disposed of, it became, by a natural process, a medium of payment in transactions of commerce. . . .

There is no question, although we have no details, that the government had found it perfectly easy to enlarge the amount of the original loan or stock of the bank, as the demand for its funds generally exceeded the supply. All money deposited for the purpose of obtaining a credit in the bank was accounted an addition to the original loan, and as such taken into the public treasury as money lent to the state. Every such investment increased the stock of the bank, and replenished the treasury of the republic. If individuals could make purchases and pay debts by transfers in the bank, the public treasury could well afford to receive, in payment of its dues, credits in bank, as that would be only equivalent to taking up its own obligations. Thus the more these credits were employed, the more the demand for them increased, the more readily the money flowed into the treasury, and the more readily the government could afford to receive payment of its revenues in the funds of the bank. . . .

If the whole sum to be paid and received annually was a hundred and twenty millions, the monthly payments would be ten millions, and the daily over three hundred thousand. The amount of bank funds which would be sufficient to meet such a daily, monthly, or yearly aggregate, experience and time could alone fully teach. It would depend on the rapidity of the movement; on the regularity with which the paper matured; on the degree of confidence subsisting among the parties, which would lead them to favor each other by short loans, from those who could spare for a brief time to those whose receipts did not, for the time, correspond with their payments. The whole fund in the bank would thus move in a circle among its customers, each one receiving and paying yearly according to the extent of his business. The funds would substantially remain, all the time, among the same persons, only varying in the distribution. It was from this movement in a circle, the efficacy of which was perceived in Venice, that the bank took the name by which it was long called in Europe, *Banco del Giro*.

The facility of payment furnished by the bank, which made it the admiration of Europe, honorable at once to the government and merchants of Venice, and a support to the pride and power of its people, consisted in substituting, as a medium of payment, the debt of the republic for current coin. . . . The government took the coins one time for all, giving therefor a corresponding credit in the bank; and allowed the depositor or lender to transfer this credit claim upon the republic in payment of his debt, in place of transferring or paying over the coin in each payment. Whatever men can employ in payment of debts, they will be willing to receive in payment, and this independent of any legal compulsion. . . .

But this economy resulting from increased speed and power of circulation was still more important, arising from the fact that the coins which were deposited as the basis of the credit were very soon again restored to the usual channels of circulation by the payments of the government.

Thus the coin was not withdrawn from its proper functions, and the credits remained a perpetual fund, to be employed in large payments. . . .

To comprehend this extraordinary fact of a credit on the books of a bank, with no money in its vaults, and not bound to make that credit good in later times even by the payment of the interest, or to redeem it in any way, having been for hundreds of years at a high premium over gold and silver, we need only to remember that these credits were the funds in which debts were chiefly paid. If credits had been convertible at will into the precious metals, the *agio* could never have originated, much less attained so high a point; for the moment the holders of credits advanced the price, specie, if a legal tender, would have become the medium of payment, as the cheaper medium. . . .

There was, then, probably ten times more demand for bank credits than for coins, which were only required for export, for the retail trade, and for other special but limited uses. The necessity of punctually meeting all commercial engagements was not less in Venice than in New York or in Philadelphia. Failure to pay was ruin. The merchant in good credit might purchase at his pleasure upon deferred payments; but the day of payment must arrive, and with it the unavoidable necessity of meeting these liabilities, however thoughtlessly incurred. To this compulsion no resistance could be offered; from this obligation of mercantile punctuality there could be no escape, or evasion. . . . Bank credits, by the law of the land and by their own arrangements, being the only funds in which these constantly maturing and constantly pressing debts could be paid, were in demand proportioned to this urgency. If the same mode of adjusting debts were resorted to now, the result would be that inconvertible bank credits would go frequently to a high premium over gold and silver. . . .

No doubt this premium created surprise, and many, perhaps, looked upon it as unjust; but it was the result of the merchants' own movements. The government did not cause it, nor did the bank. It was, therefore, acquiesced in by the merchants as a result of their own acts in their own business. The government, so far from producing, attempted to limit it to twenty per cent, an attempt which was rendered wholly abortive by the introduction of a *sur agio*, or super premium, calculated upon the *agio* and the original sum together. This additional premium ranged at from twenty to thirty per cent for a long period, and exhibited in its fluctuations partly the pressure for money to pay debts, and partly the current value of the coins which were offered in exchange for bank credits.

The precaution against mistakes and frauds enforced by the government of Venice in the affairs of the bank, far exceed any required by the authorities of the present time, jealous as they are of the banks. Not only, as we have seen, was every transfer made in the presence of two bookkeepers, who were required to keep separate sets of books, but the bank was shut one day in each week, and four times in a year, each time twenty days. This was to balance and thoroughly supervise the books. During the period the bank was thus shut, no bill payable in it matured; or, rather, none could be protested until six days after the opening, six days being the grace allowed on bills in Venice. . . .

The great feature of the Bank of Venice—that which required all bills of exchange payable in that great commercial city to be paid at the bank—appeared at first blush to be an arbitrary requirement, if not a most unjust one. It was giving a forced currency to the bank deposits, consisting merely of debts due by the government. It was soon found, however, to work so well in practice, that it brought an immense accession of business to the city and to the bank. Bills of exchange became

of increased use in all the neighboring commerce, and a vast concentration of payments took place at Venice and in the bank. The money brought in to pay bills was taken by the government as fast as it was received, until the amount of the deposit, or debt of the state, was adequate, by rapid circulation, to the current payments of commerce. This made the bank a great clearing house, or place of adjustment, for merchants of many countries. Venice was for centuries the greatest *entrepôt* of commerce in Europe, if not in the world. The chief payments or liquidations of this trade were effected at the bank. As is the case in many great commercial cities of the present day, payments to a great amount were thus effected at Venice upon transactions which had occurred elsewhere. It was found, therefore, then, as now in regard to London, Paris, Hamburg, and New York, that it was convenient and of advantage to have funds in Venice. The payments of bills required daily such a large sum, that the demand for funds for that purpose was always very great; and where everybody wanted funds, everybody sent them.

The bank became, then, a place of liquidation; merchants made their bills payable at the point where was the greatest concentration of means to pay them, and where it was most for their advantage to receive payment. Those who had occasion for gold and silver, purchased with these deposits what was required; and, with slight exception, for more than four hundred years the precious metals were at a discount, compared with the bank funds — the demand for that which would pay bills of exchange being greater than for gold or silver for any special use to which they could be applied. The great mass of the purchases of commerce were made, in the first instance, by bills of exchange; and the great operation of payments consisted in liquidating these bills. The demand, therefore, for the deposits in which they were paid was incessant as the movements of commerce itself. These bank deposits circulated on the books of the bank, therefore, precisely in accordance with the movements of trade; and the customers of the bank thus applied these credits, or the debts due to them, to the discharge of the debts they owed.

In another chapter Colwell further says: —

The government enjoyed a loan, free of interest, equal to the whole capital of the bank, without having given any special guarantee, or any evidence of the debt, except an inscription on the books of the bank; the people enjoyed a currency which for centuries stood at a high premium over gold and silver. The Bank of Venice, and its public finances, commencing in violence, soon settled into a simplicity and regularity of progress and freedom from undue fluctuation, of which, for such a long period, there is no parallel.

I could fill many pages with the most positive and unimpeachable evidence of similar import with the foregoing, but as my critics discard all human testimony except of their own choosing, I must ask my readers' attention to the circumstances of the case.

Once upon a time there existed a republic and city of Venice, on the Adriatic in northeastern Italy. In the course of several centuries that brave republic, through war and commerce, attained to the front rank among the Italian republics. About the close of the eleventh century, when those great tidal waves of humanity known as the Crusades, led by kings, princes, and

nobles, began to inundate western Asia for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels, Venice was found to be in the line of march. For nearly two centuries her ships carried the Crusaders to and from the coast of Asia Minor, and her merchants did a lucrative business with both the east and the west. In this business the republic employed many hundreds of ships, and her busy dockyards constantly worked more than two thousand men. We can learn something of the importance of this business when we read that a single flotilla, transporting troops and munitions to Palestine, earned by contract two hundred thousand pounds; and that, besides cash payments, Venice received a liberal proportion of the wealth and power growing out of the eastern conquests.

In this way the republic became and remained mistress of Constantinople for more than fifty years, with territorial boundaries covering three eighths of the eastern empire of ancient Rome. And after the Crusades had ended, near the close of the thirteenth century, when depopulated and exhausted Europe lay an easy prey to the invading Moslems, intent on retaliation for their losses by the Crusaders, Venice alone maintained a defensive war of fifteen years against an army of two hundred thousand Turks, under Mohammed II.

From the very beginning of the Crusades, Venice made rapid strides in wealth and power. Her constitution and the genius of her people "prepared the republic for a brilliant career of political and commercial grandeur." "The maritime republics became vastly enriched by the Crusades." Abbott, in his history of Italy, says:—

The record of the wealth and power to which the Venetian republic attained, remains to the present hour one of the marvels of history. Her fleet conquered Constantinople, and that city was retained by Venice for fifty-seven years. At the time of its greatest power, Venice held nominal sway over three eighths of the old Roman empire.

Such was Venice, and such was the history of her wealth, power, and resources from the closing years of the tenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth; and as late as the last half of the fourteenth century her fleets dominated every known sea, and were able to lose in a single battle, January, 1352, near the Bosphorus, two thousand men killed and fifteen hundred captured, without damage to her maritime prestige or power. And still later, she was not driven from her commercial standing by the loss of six thousand men killed and four thousand captured in a single fight at sea. A contemporary writer of the eighteenth century (1739) states that the Bank of Venice was, at that time, "one of the most considerable in Europe." An old geographer (Maltebrun, 1829) tells us that:—

The arsenal, enclosing the dock yards of Venice, formerly the most celebrated and the largest in Europe, was once filled with ships, materials for building, and all kinds of arms. The outer wall measured two or three miles in circumference, and within these walls during the republic two thousand five hundred workmen were constantly employed. . . .

One may judge of what Venice has been by the number of edifices and charitable institutions; thirty-six Catholic churches, two Greek churches, an Arminian and Lutheran chapel, seven synagogues, a founding hospital, two lazar houses, and twenty-three hospitals, serve to recall its past splendor, and render its decay more apparent. . . .

Those who have seen it [Venice] forty years ago can no longer recognize it; such changes have taken place in the capital, which had its navy in the sixth century, which protected Petrarch, and encouraged the arts, when Europe was in the darkness of barbarism, and which, during nine hundred years, was treated on equal terms with the greatest sovereigns. . . .

Such was Venice; and yet, Mr. Catt, who appears to be the shadow of Professor Dunbar, says, "There seems to be no positive evidence that prior to 1584, Venice had a public bank."

Venice was the principal point of rendezvous for the Crusaders departing by sea to Palestine. Venice was the safest and most convenient point for the deposit of the immense treasures from both Europe and Asia, and the opulent merchants of all lands found it to their interest to have funds in Venice. Most of the great writers, including "gentlemen eminent in banking and letters," and Mr. Colwell, whose record is said to be "the best in the English language," join in the statement that Venice had a public bank managed by the government, which started as a government loan, as early as 1171. It had its origin in the necessities of the government and the opulence of its citizens. That such a government and such a people could carry on, successfully, their tremendous enterprises of war and commerce for so many centuries *without a public bank*, requires a heavier tax of faith and imagination than most men are willing to bear.

I have before me a paper of fifty-four pages, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April, 1892, by Professor Dunbar, from which Mr. Catt draws his inspiration. I also have a two-page note, in the same journal, January, 1893, by the same author, admitting an important oversight and mistaken statement, quite fatal to the implicit confidence one would be willing to place in so scholarly a writer. The professor had stated that the history of the Bank of Venice subsequent to 1619, had not been written; but later he admitted his oversight and error. Now with that error in view as to the later history, is it not barely possible that he is in error respecting the earlier history of the Bank of Venice? The professor would have us believe that Venice had no public bank prior to 1584, and when, finally, a bank

was organized to take the place of all others, it had only ten persons as the full and lawful managing and clerical force; and that force to perform all the bookkeeping in duplicate, which required double work. The entire bookkeeping, in duplicate, was performed by two bookkeepers and two assistants, in this great "clearing house of the world" — in this "most considerable bank in Europe." That absurd position is the corner stone of the professor's argument. And he publishes a law which was, perhaps, for the reopening of the cash office after a twenty years' closing, giving it some of the qualities of a circulating bank. This law, with ten persons as the entire managing and clerical force, we are expected to believe established the great "*Banco del Giro*" of Venice, in 1619; and, in default of sufficient faith in that theory, we are to lose our self respect and good standing among "people of repute in such matters."

I may refer to the Bank of Venice and the object of the attack on its well-known history in a future paper, entitled "Money in Politics."

Whatever features may have formed a part of the Venetian finances, they all clustered around the original bank of circulation — "*Banco del Giro*" — which had its origin in the chamber of loans — "*La Camera degl' Imprestiti*" — "the real basis of the bank's existence" — which Mr. Dean, "assisted by gentlemen eminent in banking and letters," says, "by general agreement of authority, took place in 1171." "And," continue Mr. Dean and the "eminent gentlemen," "justice requires the acknowledgment that at no period of its existence, whether as a chamber of loans or as a bank, is there to be found any objection to it, or criticism of its management, by any contemporary citizen of the republic." These statements by the gentlemen, it must be remembered, were made a dozen years after the time when, Mr. Catt says, the whole story of the Bank of Venice had been shown to be "erroneous," and was no longer credited by "people of repute in such matters." If this general plea of denial, in the face of the plain and authentic facts of history, is the strongest argument which the shylocks have in favor of their golden god, then their case is worse than I had imagined. Herein is new reason for encouragement.

MUNICIPAL REFORM: THE NEED OF A POSITIVE PROGRAMME.*

BY REV. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS.

For the sake of brevity and clearness, I shall at the outset give the divisions of the subject I desire to note: (I) The need, as seen in the present condition of this and every great city. (II) The need not met by negative or so-called reform movements. (III) The outline of a positive programme. (IV) The value of a positive programme in harmonizing the reformatory and progressive elements of all classes, parties, and organizations in a united movement for its realization.

I. *The Need.*—On this first head, I pause but a moment to enumerate briefly a few elements in present conditions of our city life which enhance this need.

1. Rapid growth of cities, from a thirtieth to a third of our national population.

2. The greater complexities of social relations in city life. The individual citizen and the family group are less isolated and independent of external surroundings than in the country. They impinge more closely on neighboring individuals and groups, and consequently the network of relations binding society together in civic life is more delicate, intricate, and vital than in the looser social organization of the rural districts. The differentiation of individual and family types is wider also in the great cities, where race, custom, creed, and standard of comfort vary so widely.

3. From these elements of city life a third results, unhappily not as yet clearly apprehended, viz., the defective social adjustments in our large cities.

De Tocqueville, the French student of our social and political institutions, greatly admired the township system of our eastern states, and undoubtedly that system was developed in a wholesome state of society, and was for a long period admirably adapted to its needs. But no society is fixed and stationary, and with progress there must be change of social mechanism.

The township was the political unit of a simple agricultural

* The substance of this admirable paper was delivered at Amity Hall, New York, Jan. 18, 1894.

society, pretty evenly distributed over wide areas of country. But with the rise of cities and the aggregation of population in these centres, the township system has been breaking down under a social pressure for which it was never adapted, but under which it still persists as a snare and encumbrance.

Unfortunately the weakness of the system is as yet very imperfectly understood, and the admitted failure of our political machinery in the large municipalities is attributed more usually to individual or party corruption than to this, which I believe to be the chief cause, namely, the survival of an antiquated and inadequate township system, supplemented and pieced out by a conglomeration of ill-adjusted commissions and bureaux.

For while the truth that men make institutions is clearly perceived, few note with William Arthur how largely, on the other hand, men are made or marred by institutions. Witness, for example, the too general apathy among professing Christians regarding the social aspects of their religion, and the too exclusive regard had for its merely correlative teachings concerning individual liberty and destiny.

4. Again, we may note the corrupting influence of wealth, and the malaria (so to speak) of a *prevalent commercialism* which affects the popular standards of opinion and judgment, regards the freedom of individual and corporate aggregations of wealth as the chief condition of social well-being, and considers the chief function of government to be the maintenance of a race-track for these commercial competitive contests.

Innumerable are the evils engendered in the body politic by this worship of gain, and the substitution of material in place of moral ideals of the commonwealth. The high ideals of patriotism are dethroned. Young men of ability scorn to serve the commonwealth and seek to satisfy their ambitions in the more lucrative pursuits of business. Which shall we blame most severely for the confessed evils of our day, the vices of the illiterate and degraded who fill the slums of our metropolis, or the selfish indifference and the blind, ease-loving optimism of the more opulent classes, who neglect the social obligations which are the just concomitants of the social privileges which they enjoy, and grow faithless to the democratic institutions whose beneficent shelter has furnished the smooth channels and broad highways for their commercial aggrandizement? I leave this question for others to answer. I simply reaffirm the ideals on which our grand commonwealth is built, and which are now too often overlooked or ignored. The principle of democracy has not failed. The people may still be trusted. From the people ill-informed we may still appeal, with high confidence of success, to the people better-informed.

Social well-being, not the mere aggregation of wealth, is the chief aim of government and the criterion of its successful administration. Every statesman and student of political affairs echoes and will ever echo the sentiment of Goldsmith, —

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

"Sweet Auburn" not only, but all Ireland, attests to-day the true inspiration of the poet's prophetic voice, and nowhere do his lines have sharper point of application than in the heart of this proud capital of commerce.

5. Lastly, note the growth, where overcrowding, with other attendant evils, has been permitted to increase, of the dependent classes beyond their natural limits. The aged, the infirm, the infant, the incapacitated, are legitimate charges upon others in the community, and when in a healthy condition their support is not an inconvenient drain on its resources; but where these classes are swollen by the inclusion in their ranks of those who should be self-supporting, an unnatural burden is imposed on the resources of the community which it cannot long endure. This increase of the dependent classes beyond their natural limits will be found to be always due to causes which are artificial and remediable, but not always immediately discoverable. The social pressure which forces the self-supporting wage-earner into the ranks of the dependent classes may have its origin at a remote point, and be traceable only with patient sympathy and earnest endeavor. But if this is not done, the old Roman cry is raised by the poor — *panem et circenses*, bread and games. They become willingly dependent, and the moral fibre of the commonwealth is weakened and destroyed. No, charity can never be a substitute for equality and justice. You cannot balance the social pyramid on its apex.

May we not, then, lay down as an unquestionable truth that the chief function of municipal government is not, as some have fancied, mere *police duty*, the maintenance of public order and the protection of property, but far more than that, *the highest social well-being of all its citizens*? "Is not the *life* more than meat, and the body than raiment?"

Individualism may develop naturally in an agrarian community, but socialism is the basal principle of the *free city*, and has been from the Middle Ages down to our own day.

II. *The Need not met by Negative, so-called Reform, Movements.* — As I have already endeavored to point out, municipal corruption has been too exclusively attributed to individual or party corruption. Hence the reform movements have sought usually nothing further than the redress of these abuses, the punishment

of offenders, and the honest and economical administration of government along existing lines, or at most the establishment of legislative checks on such public leakages as manifested themselves. These ill-considered, inconstant, and inconsecutive efforts have given us, therefore, the municipal patchwork or crazy quilt of legislative enactment which is cited as "Laws relating to the City of New York."

In saying this I would not be understood as slurring or undervaluing the true public spirit or the high worth of much that has been accomplished by individual citizens or associations of citizens in these directions. But the confessed failure of a satisfactory permanent result of these efforts is sufficient evidence of the statement under consideration.

Accepting it, therefore, as admitted, that these reform movements have failed, in part at least, of what was hoped from them, permit me to suggest some possible causes of failure, either through characteristics of the movements themselves, or in conditions overlooked.

1. A limited scope. They were negative and *destructive* rather than positive and *constructive*. Their scope was too narrow and contracted. The territory was conquered but not occupied. The house was swept and garnished, but the devils returned and found it empty and the last state was worse than the first. Contrast Joseph Chamberlain's great success in Birmingham by the inauguration of a progressive policy and the popular support elicited by it.

2. Unpopular tendencies. Too often these movements have appeared to be the effort of a particular, property-holding class to assume for itself the reins of government. Thus the movement, otherwise praiseworthy, became reactionary and unpopular.

3. Too often they were allowed to become *partisan* and *personal*, and thus antagonisms were awakened which blocked the path to success.

4. Again, the aims were *material*. Property rather than life was the subject of agitation. Clean streets, light taxes, and honest administration were not *vital* questions to the mass of voters, living often in homes less cleanly than the streets, and careless of taxes which fell primarily on others, and of the final shifting of which to their own shoulders they could not be made conscious, while they were, on the other hand, in close and friendly touch with the very politicians whom they were implored to distrust and abandon. The inadequacy of attempted reforms, and the occasion for their failure, is largely due to the want of any sufficiently lofty motive capable of inspiring enthusiasm. The elevation of the whole community, not the ease of a privileged class, should be the aim.

5. Legislative tinkering at Albany in matters of merely local concern is contrary to correct political principles, and fruitful of many evils. Yet reforms have been attempted by each unwarrantable interference.

6. Want of centralized authority and responsibility. Mr. Andrew H. Green found in the government of New York, some years ago, not less than eighty different boards or individuals who could create debt independently of one another.

7. There is a limitation of functions, so that a good mayor can do but little. We had an excellent mayor in Mr. Hewitt, but what could he do? Many things that he proposed were not entered into.

8. The farming out of the public revenues to private corporations, as well as donations of public property and franchises. These are some of the defects in our present system of government which produce corruption.

9. There is also the opposition of privileged classes to improvement. In London, the great mediæval guilds, coming down to our day, have been the opponents of good government, so that while smaller English and Scotch cities have good government, London has not until recently secured anything like it. In Philadelphia, I am told, the street car lines oppose good pavements because it will make traffic by omnibuses and carriages more frequent. In Brooklyn, recently, a new school was needed and about to be built, but the erection was prevented by property owners because of increase of taxes. I hold the very respectable classes, so-called, who cry out for reform, themselves largely responsible for the existence of special privileges and exemptions which cause the corruption complained of.

10. There is also a lack of a definite programme. Mere exhortation will not reform a city; you must propose something definite.

11. There is also the dependence on selfish motives. You must have something more lofty than the simple proposition to turn the rascals out and put our friends in.

12. Reform movements depend too much on organization, too little on the inspiration of a lofty principle and high hope.

Let us, then, admit without further discussion that there is a *need*, and a need which previous reform movements have not met, in the condition of our noble metropolis, which requires a programme of improvement *positive* and *ample*. To it we proceed at once.

III. *The Outline of a Positive Programme.* — Our basal principle is the well-being of all citizens. As Chancellor MacCracken happily phrased it, "The municipality is not a thing," but a living organism. The conception of it as a business concern, to

be run on business principles, is not satisfactory. Our conception is that it is an organism composed of living beings. On this principle we should aim to secure the following conditions: (1) None without work who are able to work. (2) None in want who cannot help themselves. (3) None without education who cannot acquire it for themselves.

1. In regard to the reconstruction of government, my first suggestion is that we should have a *general municipal government act* passed by the state, prohibiting legislative interference in local concerns and conferring ample local powers.

2. My next proposition is that there should be a *concentration of power* in a large municipal council, and a mayor with large appointive powers, and the dependence of all appointive departments on the will of the mayor and this body combined. I cannot stop to argue these propositions, but they are not by any means untried proposals. There are good names of high position for all of them, and I have simply to put them before you in this brief way. It is objected, perhaps, that it is the proper object of government simply to secure well-being. In reply I say no; it is to seek the moral elevation of all the community, life more than property.

3. In the third place, on *the necessary extension of the functions of municipal government*, I would note the remarks of Mr. Goschen, in reference to the traffic on streets. He used this illustration: On a country road you have nothing but the custom in England of passing to the left, but when you come to the traffic in the city you have to limit the individual liberty and make a more fixed law, and have a policeman there to carry it out. In this way it is necessary in all departments of municipal work to extend the municipal functions, *not against individual liberty, but with the idea of securing equality of individual liberty*. As an illustration: Why is there no railroad on Fifth Avenue? why no Sunday omnibuses? Because it is a street of homes. But some mischievous reporter asks, Is not Avenue A a street of homes? Are there not about ten or fifteen or twenty homes there to one on Fifth Avenue? The difference must lie in something else. It is because of the greater property value of the houses on Fifth Avenue, and the care is not to injure property. Property again before life.

4. *Some Specific Measures.*—I shall only have time to indicate them. It is not my province to go into details, only to outline them.

First, in regard to education. We need free kindergartens, manual and industrial schools, evening schools, museums, libraries, and free school-books. Birmingham has gone so far as to provide free lunches. In our city of New York fifteen thousand children

could not be received into the public schools because there was not room for them.

There should be supervision of private institutions for children and the sick and dependent classes.

The work-house system should be made honorable. It is now a principle of common law that every citizen is entitled to food and to work from the municipality or district if he cannot obtain it elsewhere, and that is the foundation of the work-house system. But there is a dread of the work-house in New York, as if it were a kind of penal institution, and it is generally regarded as such.

The question of the unemployed is a great question. One writer says it is the presence of one million of the unemployed that is constantly cutting down wages, and honest labor cannot stand out against it. Methods for relieving this pressure are now frequently discussed. Inspection of factories is an important requirement, also the enforcement of laws against child labor, the regulation of female labor, and the prohibition of tenement house manufacture.

In regard to the housing of the poor, in London they have tried the experiment of building houses. This we do not propose to do, but we do propose by our building department to regulate what kind of houses should be built.

The regulation of the liquor traffic is also demanding attention.

Tax reform is needed. I should advocate for cities a single tax on land values.

Public sources of revenue can not only be made to pay a large part of municipal expenses, but in some cases could pay the whole. Paris hopes to be entirely self-supporting by the year 1920. Berlin pays a large portion of her expenses in this way. Docks, franchises, gas, water, and street railways, could easily provide a very large and ample revenue, hence the success of certain experiments in this direction.

Public regulation of private enterprises has been found in American cities to be valuable in a number of ways. We have our paid fire department, our paid police, our water supply in New York, our building bureau, health bureau, all found to be excellent even in a corrupt city, and even in a corrupt city have been adopted.

We come now to the last division of this paper:—

IV. *The value of a positive programme in harmonizing the reformatory and progressive elements of all classes, parties, and organizations in a united movement for its realization.* It will be seen from what has been said, that I am of the opinion that the regenerative elements in the community are sufficiently powerful to accomplish the improvements which have been suggested; that I do not admit the failure of democratic institutions

in our large cities; that I still trust the people, and still believe with President Lincoln that while "You may fool *some* of the people *all* of the time, and *all* of the people *some* of the time, you cannot fool *all* of the people *all* of the time." I therefore confidently make the appeal *from the people ill-informed to the people better-informed*. But here the objection may be raised, If the regenerative elements are thus present and powerful in the community, why have they not already effected the needful reform? This objection has been partially answered in the considerations already presented, but there is a further reply, which is yet to be stated. It is briefly this. There is a diffused longing for better government. There is also the more or less distinct and adequate expression of that desire in various reform organizations. But there is not only no hearty coöperation between these organizations, there is positive repulsion, jealousy, and antagonism. The results desired have not been achieved, can never be achieved, but by the hearty and general agreement and coöperation of the great mass of the community. How is this to be secured? Is it by the absorption of conflicting interests, parties, and organizations into some existing club or party? Or is it by the institution of a new organization or party? Some assume that it is to be this latter. We are to have a *new municipal party*. I disagree with them, however. We do not need so much the perfection of existing reform organization, nor the creation of new reformatory machinery, as we need the *unifying influence of a great ideal*.

Once create that ideal, and get it instilled into the innermost heart of the community, and it will be speedily realized in political action, either through machinery already existing, or organizations which it brings into being. Both happened when the anti-slavery agitation split the existing Democratic party, giving up the Free Soilers, and at the same time brought the Republican party into existence, and wiped out of existence the Whigs.

Our reformers trust entirely too much to organization, fair elections, and the honest registry of public opinion; but, as Mr. Scudamore has aptly remarked, the great need is an *intelligent public opinion to register*. The early victories of the Republican party were not won through the perfection of its organization, but through the popular enthusiasm evoked by its principles. So has it always been; so will it always be. Away with these petty panaceas. They are but snares and delusions, framed by those who fail to grasp with a triumphant and energetic faith the moral powers which have ever ruled the hearts of men, when earnestly invoked, and will to the end of time.

I look, therefore, to the creation of a healthy, hopeful, ener-

getic public opinion for the moral power to achieve the true municipal ideal, and I suggest the promulgation of such a positive programme as that which has been outlined in the foregoing portions of this paper as the means for its creation. This I believe to be the primary importance of such a programme. It may never be realized precisely as we here propose it, but nevertheless it will create an ideal which will fire the popular heart and force the realization of many if not of all its provisions. But enough has been said. I need not enumerate the regenerative elements in the community. Let us cordially welcome all that makes for social righteousness, regardless of its source. We are neither Puritans nor Pharisees. We have no quarrel with any creed or party or organization. We seek the union of each and all under the common banner of a noble ideal for our *metropolis*, the mother city of us all.

I close with a brief summary of some methods promotive of unity of purpose and action.

1. The general trend of thought is from the limited franchise to the universal franchise. This we have. It is now in the power of the body universal to express itself.

2. Our first need is therefore a popular assembly where this public opinion can make itself felt. This is the reason why I asked for a large municipal council such as the county council of London, where leading men will take part. They will not go into our board of aldermen, who have little power except to pass by a *pro forma* vote estimates and appropriations determined by a small commission. A large popular assembly and a mayor of full executive power would begin to attract the attention of the newspapers, and as soon as the attention of the newspapers is aroused and reports are given of debates, the whole community will be interested, and we will see some of the prevalent apathy begin to break away.

3. The cause of progress would be served by the separation of municipal from state and national issues, with separate elections.

4. There should be also the extension of municipal territory. Western cities are doing this in a marvellous way; New York is just proposing it. It ought to be done. The reluctance of the suburbs to come in is due to a wish to enjoy civic privileges without sharing corresponding civic burdens and responsibilities.

5. I suggest also the feasibility in the future of some system of municipal savings banks and industrial insurance and pensions. It is not necessary, in my thinking, to do away with theory, but to have a theory in advance of the experiment.

6. The advanced state of English opinion is due to Christian influence primarily. Some years ago Professor Richard T. Ely was asked in a ministers' conference in New York, if the social

chasm were greater here than in England, and he replied, much to the surprise of his audience, that it was greater here. The advanced social opinion in England may be due to the union of church and state, which has forced people to feel that Christianity, being responsible in a certain degree for the state, must also take an interest in its welfare. I desire to be a citizen of no mean city, and if this feeling of true citizenship grows strong in our young men, I believe we shall have less reason to feel that we are citizens of a corrupt city. I think of Christ weeping twice in His life, once at the grave of a deceased friend, and once over a city. I have seen a good many weep at the graves of deceased friends, but have never seen a man weeping over a crowded city yet. When I do I feel there will be hope.

I close with the noble words of the great Italian patriot Mazzini: "Let not the hateful cry of reaction be heard from your lips, nor the sombre formula of the conspirator, but the calm and solemn words of the days to come."

EXTRAVAGANCE IN THE DRESS OF WOMEN.

BY FRANCES M. STEELE.

So long as history has been written, so long has the extravagance of women been an alleged important factor among the causes of grave political and commercial disaster. Sumptuous clothing has been thought to be an evil of so great proportions that all the despotism of government, all the authority of ecclesiasticism, all the reproaches of conjugal mastership, have been arrayed against it.

To ensure frugal living among the early Grecian republics, sumptuary enactments were directed against the prodigality of Dorian women. In Rome, 215 B. C., it was provided that no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a dress of differing colors, or ride in the city. From the days of Frederic II. in Italy, from Philip the Fair to the ascendancy of Richelieu in France, from Edward II. to 1621 in England, and from Ferdinand III. in Spain, kings issued edicts against the use of rich fabrics, fine linens, jewels, laces, gold thread, and embroidery. As late as 1651, in New England, it was ordered that no one whose estate was valued at less than two hundred pounds should wear gold or silver lace, gold or silver buttons, or bone lace, or silk hoods or scarfs. And this, not because Puritans wished to legislate piety, but because they shared in the prevailing conception of good government.

Sumptuary laws were generally enforced by kings whose reckless expenditure of the public treasury threatened to bankrupt the nation. Nevertheless, when disaster came, the extravagance of women bore the obloquy. When men and women dressed alike, it was the ruling sentiment of the age, if anything, that was vicious. In the worst of times there have always been women who valued the sanity of simple ways, who in licentious ages led calm and dutiful lives, treading the narrow paths of household industry and domestic joy, faithfully interpreting religious motives into daily deed, and satisfying social instincts with homely entertain-

ment. To be reckoned, beside, has always been a great body of humble housewives, too lowly to invite menace, too simple to arrest attention.

Women of the higher classes made a show of obedience to rigorous law, often with pleadings and tears over the necessity; regaining before long, however, their former serenity in resuming their elegant array.

That this over-zealous legislation, levelled as it was against industries and manufactures, was impolitic in the last degree, is easily comprehended, now that the world has been taught the true wealth of nations. The prodigal use of lace, "the jewel work of the needle," has always been so favorable to industrial classes that the merit of reviving lost stitches is now extolled as one of the worthy charities of the time.

That magnificent array continued to be unchecked by legislation proves that the nations advanced in prosperity. Before banks were established, it was difficult to husband the inevitable gain. Nobles had already too much land, too many retainers, and sufficient arsenals of the destructives of the time. Costly garments and jewels might be worn to ensure their safety. Men and women alike enjoyed gorgeous apparel. Why should they not?

Three times within easy memory has the increased importation of silk been charged with the financial disasters that have overtaken our own republic, in the face of the fact that the large majority of silk wearers spend only what is given to them more or less reluctantly; and of the other fact, that women in America have always been called to help shoulder the burdens of religious and social enterprises whose management required thrift.

There seems occasion for modern governments to learn lessons from the failure of sumptuary regulations in the past. We are told that a Vienna ordinance proposes to interfere with such Austrian women as essay to clean the pavements by dragging long dresses over them. This method of street-cleaning is inadequate, we grant; it is gratuitous, however. As to the interference of law, the folly of the remedy seems as gross as the folly to be cured.

Even in our progressive country, there has been a city ordinance prohibiting a certain pattern of dress upon the street. Later, a state legislature wasted its valuable time

and force in forbidding the wearing of tights upon the stage. We can hardly think with patience of existing statutes to prevent a woman wearing a so-called man's dress in public, while a man may at any time wear so-called woman's gowns.

Beside the edicts of despotism, the whole force of ecclesiasticism has been arrayed against sumptuous apparel for women. It has been the habit of priests to fulminate against the "pomp and vanities of this world," among which the dress of women has always been conspicuously counted. Faint echoes of former interference have been heard within half a century, denouncing the use of artificial flowers and feathers on women's bonnets.

Indeed, headgear seems always to have been irritating to churchly authority. The Norman hennin, an innocent tower of buckram, covered with silk and worked with beads, having a short veil from its lower front edge, and a cloud of fine muslin from the top of the cone, was a covering that peculiarly enraged the clergy during its long reign of popularity. One zealous priest was so impressed with the enormity of wearing an appendage so perilous to womanhood, so damaging to society, that he was moved to preach from town to town a crusade against it, at times descending from the pulpit to batter the bonnets of the frightened women with his staff. The monk went on his way, but hennins rose higher than before, like grain after a passing breeze. Why should they not?

There came a time when fine linen undergarments were added to the toilet. Their possession was an evidence of competence. Slits in gowns so contrived as to show the presence of the new luxury were denounced as "doors of hell." Long-toed shoes, which must have been inconvenient enough to the wearer to offset any possible harm to others, were called "outrages upon the Creator." Popes and church councils denounced them. Nevertheless they were constantly worn during three centuries. Royal decree and church fulmination alike missed their aim. Women listened—and faithfully followed the fashions. In this respect, women always have been, and probably always will be, a law unto themselves, ignoring all authority, royal, ecclesiastical, and marital. We cannot disguise our personal complacency in this fact. But let us reason about it. Why were women fond of fine array? Why have they always managed to

secure it? Where is the harm of it? These much berated excesses, how bad were they?

Fashions in dress in early times were spread abroad, not as now, by printed periodicals, but by dolls sent out at regular intervals, so that the duchess in her distant *chateau* in Brittany, or the wife of the Palatine, perched on her rock above the Neckar vale, might know how her sisters appeared in the grand central courts of Paris and Burgundy. Venice, the connecting link between Eastern commerce and Western splendor, annually imported a Parisian doll which was exhibited under the arcades of the Merceria, at the end of the Piazza of San Marco, that all might know the "toilette of the year."

Why were the lonely dwellers in mediæval strongholds and the denizens of walled cities eager to see these dolls? Because then, as in far older times, the "virtuous woman laid her hands to the spindle, and her hands held the distaff. She was not afraid of the snow, for all her household were clothed with double garments. She made coverings of tapestry, her clothing was silk and purple. . . . She made fine linen, and delivered girdles to the merchant." From year to year she wanted to know how best to do it, "looking diligently" not only "to the ways of her own household" but to the progressive ways of the rest of the world. As a *manufacturer* she needed to be abreast of the times. While "She sought wool and flax, and worked diligently with her hands, rising while it was yet night," why should not the "fruit of her hands be given to her"? She might well be "clothed with strength and honor." Who had a better right? The thrifty woman of every age has the same right to be clothed with dignity and beauty.

A decorative artist writes: —

No matter how debased the people, we find in them the instinctive desire for and love of ornament . . . a natural desire for added grace . . . not content merely, brute-like, with the meat that perishes, but in some dim way feeling something of the Divine, of that spirit that paints the little wayside flower with loveliness while scattering it broadcast over the earth; that which, enthroned in a majesty no eye can see, no heart conceive, tints with effulgent beauty the little earth-born beetle that glistens in the sunlight.

All this show of legal and ecclesiastical authority, then, was levelled against the gratification of a natural instinct, a remnant of the divine image.

All the world loves beauty. Every woman naturally seeks to be beautiful. It is part of her mental constitution. However false may be the methods employed, however imperfect the result, women array themselves in their finest because they believe that fineness will create admiration and love. Then why should not women make themselves imposing by wearing hennins, or exclusive by long-toed shoes, or masculine by broad sleeves, or short necked by shoulder puffs, or long limbed by trailing skirts, or humped on the spine, *if* they imagine such additions are beautiful and becoming? What wonderful repressive ingenuity, what glowing religious fervor, what untiring energy, have been expended to prevent woman from indulging harmless and innocent, if absurd, fancies! How little has ever been done to help her to the height of reverencing her body and caring intelligently for it!

THE TENEMENT HOUSE CURSE.

I. EVILS OF THE SYSTEM, BY WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN, SECRETARY
OF THE CITY VIGILANCE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

THE awakening interest in the problems of a great municipality, is one of the best refutations of the sneer of pessimism or the danger of optimism. The search-light of publicity is dreaded by those who work by dark and devious methods which need the obscurity of conventionalism or policy. The brotherhood of man is more than a shibboleth of the socialist or the Utopia of the reformer; it is daily realized in the social spirit of the new era, and the Christlikeness which lives in the social settlement and extends the helping hand through the varying agencies of the church. The church, too, is awakening from the bonds of the last eighteen hundred years, and the conviction is forced upon her, that if the world is to be humanized through her instrumentality, methods must be changed; a kingdom of God on the earth must be preached; the mental and the physical, as well as the spiritual, must be made the object of her solicitude; in other words, three thirds and not one third of a man must be saved. With such a renaissance of ideas, whereby the life of man on this earth may be made to yield for him the greatest measure of happiness, the varying obstacles barring such progress must be removed. The condition most essential to the rational development from humanity, of *men* and not of *masses*—that element which differentiates men from the animal, is the home. Some truisms need no apology; in this category is the statement that the home is the basic element of the social life of a community, whether it be city or hamlet. If the supporting force be weakened one fifth or four fifths (employing the usual estimate of five to a family), the superstructure is thereby made unstable by just that amount, and rendered the less able to withstand the winds and floods.

The tenement house has come to be a synonym for degradation and unwholesomeness. There is no reason why this should be so, as there are homes scattered throughout the district, but the above fact exists in the popular mind. There are many tenements which are managed by men and women with souls, but the thoughts usually evoked by the words "tenement house" are

those in which greed, avarice, and disregard for humanity are chiefly prominent, especially when it is an adjunct of the money-getting machine euphemistically called a landlord. Light, air, and space are the essentials for life in any civilized community, much more so in this last decade of the nineteenth century. The addition of the human element to the above essentials makes a home. Too frequently the tenement house is a menace to the home. Accordingly in this discussion, I shall include by the term tenement house, all those which are an obstacle to the growth of the home.

In a presentation of the evils, I shall assume a knowledge, hence a condemnation, of abuses which are apparent from the merest surface study—namely, those of overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and the tendency to immorality.

The first evil of the tenement house is the fact that *it is a menace to a republican form of government*. A government should provide for the best interests of its component parts. We are fond of thinking that a democracy exists for, of, and by the people, but if large numbers so live that their whole energies must be bent on scraping together enough money first to pay the rent and then to buy something to eat, the time will come when they will begin to question social conditions that admit of such a state of affairs. The submerged tenth will be very near the surface when the conditions become intolerable. For some the struggle will be too great; the mechanism of their physical machinery has actually worn away its bearings, which have never been lubricated with a little wholesome recreation, the sight of grass, trees, or a body of water, or a thought beyond that of rent and food. This class has made an honest effort to live an independent life. A second class has also tried, but lacked the grit to continue, so we find them living on so-called charity—doubly uncharitable, for it pauperizes the recipients and is diverted from worthy cases. There are men and women who have been supported casually for the last twenty years by the charities of this city. The term "Charities and Corrections" is illogical; the elements should be reversed. The third class is the worst of all, because their natural traits, continually stimulated by their environment, have made them criminals, and the tenement is their hothouse. The influence of this class on their neighbors is incalculable for harm, nor can society interfere with them, till their malady has broken out in some overt act against itself. They are then put in an isolated ward, only it is called a jail or a reformatory. The existence of this class is a menace to a republic, and unless such dangers are averted at the sources, they will grow till the republic may be overthrown, or a one-man power be established. The tenement house is the cradle, nursery,

kindergarten, school, university, and profession of the dependents, defectives, and delinquents.

The tenement house is a feeder of the saloon. The attractive power of the home is in direct proportion to the amount of heat, light, and companionship afforded. Failing to find these essentials in the home, people seek them elsewhere, and for elsewhere you may read saloon. Liquor is one of the minor inducements of the saloon. I can tell you of saloons in whose back rooms weddings and christenings have been held; many of them offer facilities for letter writing, and all of them have a cheery welcome for the incomers. These are the demands which a home should supply, and the failure is one reason for the number of saloons in the tenement-house district. In the sixty-one blocks of the Third Assembly district in New York City there are three hundred two openly advertised saloons, to say nothing of the liquor sold at the corner groceries, so-called coffee houses, *cafés*, and disorderly houses. The estimated population of the same area is 77,927.

I claim that there is a vital connection between the absence of the home and the presence of the saloon. No truer statement has been made than that calling the saloon "the poor man's club." A club represents the idea of congenial companionship. For many a husband who lives in the tenement house there can be no companionship in his wife. She works too hard for her nature to respond to such a demand; her time is too much occupied in bearing and caring for her children. In the statistics of a city parish in New York City recently compiled from forty-seven blocks, there were 24,993 fathers and mothers and 25,539 sons and daughters. The large number of children in the families of the poor is not a blessing, but a drag to the parents and an injustice to the children, when there are more than can be supported by the father's wages. Wife, husband, and children cannot form a home, unless there is room for the growth of the home idea, a condition of affairs which is impossible within the four walls of one room, or the eight walls of two. Even a bulb will send out feelers towards the light, and has a human being less intelligence than a potato? Alas! no, but the social cellar is too strong and dark.

The absence of the home compels the street life of the child. There are no children in the tenement-house quarter; the little strangers which come "above Fourteenth Street" are called babies, but in the slums they are potentialities which will, after some trouble in raising, contribute to the support of the family. I know of one little tot, three years and a half old, who was sewing labels on pants, made in a sweat shop. Fortunately such cases are rare, but in sweat shops I have seen many a child who

should have been at school or, better, at play. The new laws are driving the sweat shops out of the homes, but the old conditions in some cases still exist. "The rich man's wealth is his strong city; the destruction of the poor is their poverty." Because of poverty, the services of the children are demanded at an early age, but before that time comes, there are the periods when the child life is plastic and impressionable. The rich can shield and shelter their children, but alas for those of the poor! The tenement house has no more attractive power for the child than for the adult; only when the latter goes to the saloon, the former goes on the street. The influence of the street as a training school is not of a high grade; I never yet heard that a kindergarten had been opened on the street.

I do not claim that the children of the tenement-house quarter would never be exposed to the lowering tendencies of the street life, but I do maintain that if they could have homes the evils would be minimized. The danger of the street education lies in the fact that it influences the children, who would be just as responsive to wholesome training. If we lose the children, the sociological salvation of our municipalities is almost hopeless, for the fathers and mothers are nearly all beyond our reach, while the potentiality for good or evil lies with the children.

Among other evils which can only be mentioned, as the brevity of the paper precludes any farther discussion, are: Lack of room accommodations compels a state of poverty; the exploitation of those who cannot help themselves, the many by the few; a deenergized existence caused by any adequate opportunity for recreation.

WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN.

II. SOME CHICAGO TENEMENT HOUSES, BY ALZINA PARSONS STEVENS, ASSISTANT FACTORY INSPECTOR FOR ILLINOIS.

A Chicago writer in an Eastern magazine in 1892 said, "The tenement-house evil [overcrowding], as it is known in New York and London, shows almost no trace in the new, spacious mart on the edge of the 'Grand Prairie.'" This opinion is very generally entertained by our citizens, but is not well grounded.

It is true that this city, so congested at its business centre, so widely scattered over the rest of its territory of 180.14 square miles, has no towering, closely bricked-in quarters expressly built, street after street, for the hiving of human beings. Our many-storied buildings, put up where ground rent is so high that no space may be wasted for mere light and air, are business blocks erected and used for commercial and manufacturing purposes. Our tenement houses, scattered over all sections of the city, are a chance medley of all sorts of structures, in all sorts of conditions, many of them built and first used for all sorts of purposes

other than dwelling rooms. There is nothing uniform in their construction, nothing of that crowded and compact appearance that first strikes the eye in tenement-house sections of older cities. As a result, the look of overcrowding is often absent where that condition really exists, and will be found by any one making more than a superficial inspection. He who would know what tenement-house life in Chicago really is, must know the city's alleys and courts as well as its streets and boulevards. Behind the house that fronts the street is the house he must explore.

An interesting section for the study of conditions of tenement-house life in this city is found in a small area in the West Division, along those streets of the Nineteenth and Seventh Wards which lie between Halsted Street on the west and the ill-smelling Chicago River on the east. The Nineteenth Ward has an area of 0.822 of a square mile, has 22.7 miles of streets, and its population, according to school census of 1892, was 54,172. The subsequent increase is variously estimated at from 5,000 to 8,000. The section east of Halsted Street is rather less than one third of its area, but has nearly two thirds of its population. The Seventh Ward, most of which lies east of Halsted Street, is also 0.822 of a square mile in area, and its population in 1892 was 49,264. Its increase since then has been about 5,000.

The returns from the voting precincts of the Nineteenth Ward, presidential election of 1892, will give a fair idea of the nationalities of the residents of both wards. The total number of votes cast in the ward was 9,155. A little more than one-half the voters were native born, and the remainder were divided as follows: Irish, 1,035; German, 721; Russian, 477; Canadian, 438; Bohemian, 468; English, 285; Italian, 278; Austrian, 187; Scotch, 99; Swedes, 39; Poles, 38; French, 35; Hollanders, 35; Norwegians, 18; Danes, 14; all others, 61. The ward is also credited with 56 Mongolians, and has an unknown (but not very great) number of Greeks and Armenians. The foreign-born population, therefore, outnumbers the native-born, as there must be several thousands of the former who have not been in the country the five years necessary to enable them to vote in a presidential election. More than of any other nationality these latest comers are Russian Jews, immigrants of 1892-93, who have settled in the Nineteenth and Seventh Wards because here they found many of their former country-men had made homes and founded synagogues and schools, and because here the sweat-shop system most flourishes, furnishing almost the only work these unfortunate exiles can get to do.

In the eastern sections of these two wards, along Polk, Ewing, Forquer, Taylor, DeKoven, Bunker, Dussold, Judd, O'Brien,

Kramer, Wilson, Maxwell, Liberty, and streets to the south of these, the sweat shop and its parasite, the Italian home finisher, abound. This is not the place to discuss the wrong done society and the individual by the custom we have allowed manufacturers to build up unchecked, of saving factory rent, light heat, and power by farming out their work; but something of the evil results of that custom must be seen by whomsoever investigates the "homes" in the tenement houses along the streets named.

The "great fire" of 1871 started in the Nineteenth Ward, on DeKoven Street, but swept eastward over the river; therefore most of the buildings on these streets are frame structures, antedating that time, one, two and three stories high. They have the dilapidated look which attaches to all wooden buildings not kept up, the additional grime which comes from soft coal smoke, and within have that accumulation of slime which comes with constantly changing inmates whose only trait in common is that they never clean. But these are palaces compared with the houses that are dropped in behind them, wherever there is room for a fragile foundation, or wherever a one-time shed or barn can be made over into living rooms by the erection of a wooden outside stairway and the cutting in of a window frame.

In the block between Clinton and Jefferson streets, these backyard tenements are so thickly built on Maxwell Street that they join not only the houses facing Maxwell Street but also those built up in the rear yards of Liberty Street, the next south. There is no alley between Liberty and Maxwell Streets in this block, and no proper sewerage for some forty houses averaging six tenements, or thirty people, to each house. Originally intended for one family only, and now with one family and sometimes more to every door opening upon a hall, these one-time cottage homes appear to be, but perhaps are not, worse housing for tenants than the larger houses put up purposely to accommodate many families.

These larger and more modern houses are of stone or brick, wooden structures within the city limits being now prohibited. They are generally mere shells, often with rough-plastered brick walls left unfinished as sides of rooms, and uncovered wooden rafters overhead. If they are built as deep as the city lot, there will be a complete division down the centre of the building, and a side entrance for two more sets of tenants. If the building fronting the street takes in only two tiers of tenants, there will probably be one or more separate buildings on the rest of the lot.

In the cottage and frame buildings one thinks the larger buildings are better. In the larger buildings, one knows the cottages cannot be worse. The cottage will probably have only one set sink, and that one out of order. The larger house will have

water pipes through the building, but not always water supply. The cottages have vaults in back yards, without proper sewer connection. The larger houses have closets on each floor, without air shafts, with insufficient water flush, often broken, always unhealthy. All are overcrowded; all are filthy and could not possibly be kept clean. All are in condition to breed infection and carry contagion, not alone because of filth and overcrowding, but also because of defective architecture, drainage and plumbing. If in all the health-destroying, vermin-breeding places along these streets there is one bath tub, I have never seen it nor been able by inquiry to locate it.

Yet these people do not live in uncleanness from choice. In January of this year the Carter H. Harrison bath-house — the first free bath in Chicago — was opened in the Nineteenth Ward, on Mather Street. Some of the ladies of the Municipal Order League, by whose unceasing importunities the city council was moved to make appropriation for its erection, feared that opening the institution at such an inclement season, for people not accustomed to bathing, would result in such lack of patronage as to discredit the enterprise. In the first three days after the opening, 1,244 persons availed themselves of the bath, and many more were turned away because they could not be accommodated. The place is still used every day, up to its limit, Thursday being set apart for females; and encouraged by this success, the ladies of the league are now moving vigorously for the establishment of two more, one on the north and one on the south side of the city.

Perhaps a special description of some of the houses in this section will give a clearer impression than any mere generalizations. We will take 82 Wilson street, one of the modern structures, a five-story brick, full depth of city lot. There is one narrow street entrance, with straight flights of stairs, very dark, and narrow, dark hallways. This front entrance is for the first four stories, and for the tenants three rooms deep. The upper story and the rooms back are entirely shut off from this entrance, and are reached by a side entrance. On these four floors eleven families were living at one time last summer, tenants and sub-tenants. Some, in addition to the regular family, had "lodgers." Rents vary from four dollars to one dollar per week according to location and number of rooms. The front basement is a Jewish butcher shop. On the side of the building is another entrance, used for the tenants and shops north and south of it.

The occupants at present are as follows: Ground floor, south side, Jewish Talmud school; north side, closed; second floor, south side, sweat shop employing eight men and four women. North side, Max Brightman, a home tailor, lives with wife and five small children in three close, dark rooms; the kitchen only hav-

ing light enough for him to sew by, he sits there making fine custom coats, while cooking, washing, eating, etc., go on. Third floor, north side, is also a living apartment of three rooms, occupied by a family of six; the south side of the third floor and both sides of the fourth and fifth floors are sweat shops, the five shops employing, in the brisk season, some sixty men, women and children. The only fire escape on this building is in front. The stairways and hallways, common property, are littered with sweepings from the shops, with vegetable and meat refuse, with odds and ends of broken household goods; the closets are out of order always, emitting frightful odors, the insufficient water supply not mounting to the upper stories for days and weeks at a time.

No. 26 Kramer Street is a two-story frame house, five rooms occupied by two families. Here, in an extremely filthy kitchen, dark and low ceiled, a "Jewish sweater" was found with three workmen, making coats for a fashionable down-town house. On the table touching one of the machines the wife was preparing entrails for cooking; the sink was sending up a stench; three half-washed children were tumbling about on a dirty floor.

At 132 Liberty Street Max Lavine was found living with wife and four children, one a pretty boy of seven years kept at home from school by want of clothes. Lavine was making knee pants out of filthy second-hand clothes that had been bought or begged. Washing, cooking, eating, and the work of the sewing machine all went on in the one low-ceiled, foul-aired, dirty room. The house was a one-story wooden shanty, and the family slept in the only other room. Vermin were crawling on the walls of this room.

In the rear of 86 Liberty Street is a one-storied, two-room cottage, occupied by Louis Lambert, wife and two children. A room without windows is used as a common sleeping apartment. The kitchen contained stove, sink, table, three chairs, and the sewing machine on which Lambert makes bedticks for a down-town firm. In addition, table space and room for a gasoline stove are rented to a man who presses knee pants and long pants for sweat shops on Canal and West Twelfth Streets. Lambert had only four months' work in 1893, and "rented" to the presser because his landlord was about to evict him for non-payment of rent.

On West Nineteenth Street, Peter Darwut was found living and running a shop in a dark and dirty tenement-house basement. His workroom was fourteen feet square and seven and a half feet high, with two windows. In addition to a stove with a fire in it, the room contained four sewing machines and seven workers, three of whom were women. The work was ladies' woollen

street suits. Folding doors were between this workroom and the living room in which Darwut and his wife sleep, and which is also kitchen and dining room. This room had only one window, outside of which, a foot away, was a high board fence, so that the light for that room had to come through the shop. There were no children in this family, and, not to waste space, Darwut boards two of his workmen, who sleep in a low room off the shop, unlighted and unventilated. Here, too, the plea of inability to meet the weekly rent of two dollars, when work is so uncertain, is the excuse for such miserable living.

It is needless to multiply these illustrations of living conditions. Whoever has eyes to see can find them, not alone in the section of our city here specially mentioned, but everywhere that extreme poverty and inability to rise above it fix the kind of habitation its unfortunate victims must accept. My official duties in the last six months have taken me to every part of the city where tenement houses abound, for certain sections of our factory and workshop law are intended to regulate the making or finishing of clothing in the home; and cloaks and all manner of clothing, including ladies' underwear, wrappers and street suits, men's coats, vests, caps, pants, shirts and neckties, and children's wear — work of all kinds and prices, from the costliest fur-trimmed cloak to the calico wrapper, from the seventy-five-dollar custom suit made to order for the avenue society gentleman to the knee pants that sell for a quarter of a dollar, is done in whole or in part, in just such homes as are here described.

There has been no mention in this article of those tenement-house sections of the city in which the criminals of the underworld congregate. There are such quarters, in our First Ward and in some other parts of the city. Whatever has brought this class of the poor to their misery, whether drink and sexual vices antedated or followed upon their drifting into Custom House Place and Fourth Avenue, has no bearing upon the questions this paper is designed to bring forward.

The people of whom we have specially written do not belong to the criminal class. There are saloons in the Nineteenth and Seventh Wards, and wherever there are saloons there will be brawls. There is also a hoodlum element in these wards which gives the police a good deal of trouble. But the tenement-house dwellers of these wards are not, as a class, criminals. They work whenever they can get work, which the criminals will not do. They pay their bills when they have any money with which to pay them, which is more than a great many outside of the criminal class will do. They are honest, kindly to one another, devotedly attached to their own households. But they live in such conditions of housing, food and environment that their life and

health and the life, health, and morals of their offspring, are always in peril. There is no escape for them from their material surroundings by their own initiative. Who is to rescue them from conditions worse than savagery?

Has the state, which must punish them if they blindly or desperately infringe upon its codes, no other duty toward them? Have we, as individuals, a right to feel there is no tie between us and these less fortunate children of our common Father? Is it just — is it safe — to leave them always to feel no kinship with the rest of the world in which they live? to recognize no others in that world as having common interests with them save the sweater who takes the last hour of their strength for the least penny they can live upon and the landlord into whose pocket that penny goes for a "home" the landlord's dog would not be kept in over night?

ALZINA P. STEVENS.

III. TENEMENT-HOUSE LIFE IN BOSTON, BY REV. WALTER J. SWAFFIELD, PASTOR OF THE BAPTIST BETHEL, BOSTON, MASS.

To write the story of tenement-house life in our great cities, especially in the slum districts, is to present phases of existence that are a disgrace to modern civilization, a menace to morals and health and a reproach to that spirit of Christianity which professes to hope all things and believe all things and loudly proclaims its great mission upon earth to be the salvation of men and the purification of society. My practical knowledge of tenement-house life in Boston is confined for the most part to the North End of the city, which in very truth has come to represent the dead sea of city life. But from intercourse with those well informed as to other portions of the city, I judge that similar conditions exist in other localities as in the North End, though perhaps in a less degree.

Let it be understood that the section of the city of which we speak was once the aristocratic quarter of this heart of the commonwealth. Here in former years the wealthy, the learned, the influential and the pious had their homes; but when from foreign lands the very poorest, and in too many instances "fellows of the baser sort" came in, the wealthier classes left their palatial abodes, and betook themselves to other parts of the city, leaving the homes of former splendor to be let and sublet to those who were prepared to pay almost any price for one or more rooms — regardless altogether of the cleanliness or uncleanness, the largeness or smallness, of the families admitted. Two results have followed: —

First, the houses have been and are crowded with families who for the most part are indifferent to the common proprieties of life, who are huddled together in such close quarters that

it is a marvel that disease is not more prevalent than it is, and the social evils more deadly in their havoc among the people.

A second result is that a large number of cheap and poorly appointed structures, chiefly wooden, have been reared, which serve as the homes of thousands of Boston's poor.

Hence what was once the residential part of the city for the "upper ten" is now the rendezvous of the "submerged tenth." Its courts, alleys, lanes and burrows swarm with representatives of nearly thirty nationalities. Few and wretched are the tenements to let where these people throng; any kind of a place that has a door and a roof is eagerly sought after and rented without any demand to "clean up," repaper, whitewash, or paint after the last tenant. The tenement houses in the slums are about the best paying properties in the city. Much of the property so used is found to be part of a large estate whose heirs are scattered in various places throughout the country. They hire an agent whose chief characteristics appear to be lack of sympathy and greed for gain; the poorer he can keep the tenement the larger will be the gain. No repairs are called for, or if called for they are not forthcoming, for many houses I know have not seen a paint brush or new wall paper, or even plaster on the broken, black and grimy walls for the past seven years, during which we have gone in and out of them in our efforts to show the people that life might be lived to better advantage elsewhere.

Let us now look in upon a few of the tenements that of late have aroused our indignation towards the landlord and our pity towards the tenants. I will number them and give for the sake of verification, if desired, the names and addresses referred to.

1. No. 126 C. Street. This underground tenement was occupied by man, wife, and two girls. You descend some five or six feet from the main street; the walls of the house are wet and slimy, the paper is loose, and as you lay your hand on the dark, grimy walls a cold chill runs through you, as though you were touching the walls of a tomb—and tomb it is for the living, for both man and wife are sick with the rheumatism, children cold and pale. They had to pay for two such rooms \$2.50 per week. These people were found in great suffering; the children were so far gone through cold and hunger that when given a bowl of hot soup from our kitchen it proved too strong for their weakened stomachs and they were sick for several days. This family has been moved to better quarters and found work, through money received from the Arena Fund. The rentals from this house must have netted the estate at least 20 per cent.

2. No. 198 E. Street. Here is another deplorable case—man, wife, four boys from five to seventeen years old and two girls three and sixteen, all huddled together in three small rooms; one

is a dark room where the sun never shines, in which is a bed that fills the room. Two beds are found sufficient for the needs of eight persons; both beds are made up on empty boxes. The air is foul and damp, the walls are disgustingly greasy; certainly no expense has been incurred there for years past in the way of "cleaning up." For this *home*, which is quite near the state house, the poor people pay the sum of \$2.75 per week.

3. No. 345 N. Street. Here we find one of those crazy, filthy-looking rookeries that ought to be emptied of its human inhabitants, and then given to the flames. The stench both within and without, the vermin both great and small, the vice and immorality of which it must be a veritable hotbed, all stamp it as a place wholly unfit for human habitation or civic toleration.

4. No. 6 G. Alley. This is another of those cheerless, sunless tenements. Here is a family of six living in three rooms, one of which is merely a dark closet, and the others are never penetrated by the sun's rays. You have to get used to the twilight of the place before you can appreciate your surroundings. The walls of the room where the four children of the family sleep, are almost black, and slippery with smoke. What wonder that the children are puny, sickly-looking creatures? What sort of men and women will they become? The people, at the time of our visit, were being dunned by the landlord for the three weeks overdue rent which, on account of their inability to get work, was in arrears. They were threatened with eviction if the rent was not forthcoming and as it was not to be had, the threat was executed by the heartless landlord; but they were comfortably housed the same day, through the Arena Fund. The tenement remains for other occupants.

5. No. 408 C. Street. This is a large brick block, which from the outside presents a fair appearance, but as you enter you find that the place is like the tombs of the prophets, whitewashed without, but within full of rottenness and death. The sanitary provisions are of the cheapest and poorest kind; poisonous gases enough to stifle one are met with on every floor. Each floor accommodates from four to five families. Here sickness, weakness and destitution abound.

6. No. 28 C. Street. This house is the most scandalous in its sanitary arrangements that I have ever seen. The whole house is divided into tenements of one and two rooms, and at this date, February 19, has seventeen families of all sorts and sizes. Adults of both sexes live and sleep in the same room with married people; little children are forced to inhale the most awful and sickening fumes by night and day. The sanitary arrangements are in a shed close to the door where all the people must go in and out. There are three apartments opening out of a single entrance

which must be used in common, and in sight of all. The moral sense of both young and old is quickly dulled by such surroundings, to say nothing of the effects upon health.

But enough of this; these are but a few of the places met with by us during the past few days. They describe with varying details hundreds of places where the poor and unfortunate are compelled to linger. They are typical rather than exceptional cases. I have not overdrawn, but rather the opposite. With emphasis I can substantiate the statement made by Rev. Mr. Barnett of Whitechapel, London, when he made a tour through the North End for the purpose of examining and comparing conditions there and here. He said, "We have nothing nearly so bad as this in Whitechapel."

It may be objected to all this, that if we have knowledge of such things it is our business to acquaint the officers of the Board of Health, for the purpose of ridding the city of such nuisances. To this I reply that it is the business of the Board of Health to see to it themselves that the laws are enforced, and not to tolerate, as they are doing in many quarters, direct violation of the laws which they themselves have attached to these houses; if they only took the same trouble that we do they would find open violation of every item of law both as to number of occupants and condition of building. Now it may be that the officers of the Board of Health are overworked; nevertheless the fact remains that in numbers of instances there is open, flagrant and dangerous violation of laws which they are appointed and paid to enforce or see enforced.

It may be objected, again, that these people are not bound to occupy such wretched places and pay exorbitant rentals for inferior and unclean quarters. Granted that, from the standpoint of the cold and heartless philosopher, there is no need. But the people themselves feel that the irresistible law of necessity compels them. They came to this country upon the recommendation of emigration agents who painted the picture of waiting fortune, abounding wealth and glorious possibilities in the New World; and when they were landed here they found that the whole thing was a delusion, if not a snare. Nothing remained for them but to take their chance with thousands of others for any kind of work that might offer. They brought with them large families, large expectations, but no money nor even the ability to speak the English language. Under these conditions they simply had to enter the first open door at whatever rent might be asked, and in whatever state of repair or condition of cleanliness the tenement might be. Feeling themselves insufficient for the hard struggle, courage and hope have died within them, and they have fallen back in despair, beaten, cowed and

disheartened. They are in very truth the creatures of adverse circumstances. I verily believe, from my own observation and experience with these people, that fully seventy-five per cent of the suffering is uninvited poverty brought on by circumstances over which they had but little control.

To say that these people had no business to come to this country does not solve the problem. They are here, and here to stay and as seems all too probable, are here to rule also. Now their presence in these wretched hovels with such sad disappointments clouding their lives, must be reckoned with by those who would forecast the future of our country.

Can anything be done to remedy or remove the existing evils of the tenement-house system? We think there can be, along the following lines.

1. A more thorough and strict enforcement of the immigration laws by which foreign paupers shall be returned to the land from whence they came if brought here by the greed or indifference of steamboat companies.

2. By a more painstaking execution, to the very letter of the law, by the officers of the Board of Health and a hearty coöperation with them on the part of those who come in contact with violations of plain enactments governing the construction, equipment and care of tenement-houses.

3. By a law requiring landlords to do more and take less for the tenements of the crowded districts.

4. By a persistent effort on the part of those who recognize the magnitude of the evils of this system of housing the poor, to show unfortunate dwellers in the social cellar that the possibilities of life are not yet exhausted, and that if *they* are willing *you* are willing and able to move them into the country or suburban towns, where there is a better chance for them to get work. We have found many who were willing to be moved and through the coöperation of the readers of this review a large number have been thus transplanted from the miasmatic soil and surroundings of the slums, to the clear and healthy conditions of country life. The children are now attending the public schools and enjoy a little home and garden of their own, for no more rent than they paid when in the city.

Persistent and intelligent agitation of the question will accomplish much. Through the agitation started in THE ARENA some three years ago concerning the wretched habitations of Boston's poor, many of the squalid and abominable resorts pictured by flash-light views and vivid description by the trenchant pens of those who had seen the affliction of the people, have been removed, and in their place large, roomy, well-appointed houses have been erected.

More and more we feel the need of some large-hearted, wealthy man who will undertake a work similar to that of George Peabody in London, who will erect a model tenement house which shall be at once ample in its space, healthful in situation and construction and at the same time be under the control of men who will see to it that exorbitant rents are not charged and that the strictest rules of cleanliness and order are enforced. Such a building would pay good interest, and be at the same time a great educational factor in city life.

Certainly there is a crying evil that needs righting in our midst. We are brought face to face with a great need. Need brings responsibility and responsibility fruits in duty. Duty to face the need in all its horror; to go if necessary in and out of the dark alleys, the darker rooms, breathe the foul, damp air, touch the dirty, slimy walls, look into the faces of those who are our brothers and sisters, listen to the story of wrongs unrighted, of burdens grievous to be borne, of smothered curses upon the country that invited them to its shores and then gave them the stone of poverty for the bread of contentment and the dingy cellar for a home instead of the free fields of Italy, Portugal or Norway. Duty to go to these spirits in prison, as Christ did before us, and let our life drop like a kernel of wheat into the furrow of suffering, hoping against hope, oftentimes, that it may come back again quickened and multiplied. When thus we are willing to do surely one will be near at hand to

Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand,
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

WALTER J. SWAFFIELD.

IV. SOME SIDE LIGHTS ON THE TENEMENT HOUSE EVIL, BY THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA.

I.

What shall be said of a civilization which boasts of its religion and glories in its temples dedicated to the worship of the common Father of all the children of earth, and which permits, even if it does not foster, in every populous centre, the tenement house curse of the social cellar? These dwellings may be justly characterized as (1) the prisons into which a careless, money-mad civilization forces hundreds of thousands of honest and industrious children of an adverse fate; (2) the rendezvous of the commonwealth of the double night; (3) hotbeds from which springs life as multitudinous as it is hopeless, which casts a dark shadow over the threshold of to-morrow's dawn.

It is, indeed, difficult to convey to the minds of those unacquainted with the real facts through actual personal investigation, the nature or extent of this evil, and yet until society recognizes the social crime which is being committed and the real menace which is the legitimate outcome of this evil, no radical or far-reaching remedy will be possible. The conscience of civilization must be aroused to the magnitude of the tenement-house evil. The people must be made aware of the awful fact that tens of thousands of their brothers and sisters are existing in squalid quarters totally unfit to be shelters for the lower animals. They must be made to know that not only would no millionaire on Fifth Avenue, New York, or Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, permit his horse or his dog to remain in quarters so foul and loathsome as those in which thousands of men, women and children in our great cities are forced to dwell, but that the humanity of the average farmer would not permit him to stall his horse or cow in such places as some of the cellar homes I have visited in Boston.

The tenement houses of the slums are the shame and menace of our present-day civilization. Here, frequently from cellar to attic, human beings are huddled together in a way which suggests the crowding of swine and cattle in transportation cars. The air they breathe is heavy with fetid odors. Here gloom is perpetual and filth omnipotent. The influence of environment, which means so much for weal or woe to child life, presses downward from all sides. Here physical contagion is fostered and moral contagion is ever present. Here honest poverty jostles against hardened iniquity and the hopeless come face to face with those old in vice and schooled in crime. Here a large section from the retreating battalion of the industrious wage-earners is ever taking a last stand in the struggle for an honest and respectable livelihood while environed by the Ishmaelites of society; and, most tragic of all, here we find multitudinous little lives swept into the struggling, seething world of social night as driftwood borne to shore by storm-lashed ocean waves.

II.

Child life in the tenement-house quarter presents a problem so essentially tragic when considered in its bearing upon the little victims of an unkind fate and so portentous when viewed in its relation to the civilization of to-morrow, that it would be difficult to overestimate its gravity. The children who swarm in these regions are dowered with evil; baleful hereditary and prenatal influences color their lives before they utter a cry or open their eyes in their sad and cheerless homes and they are environed by that which develops all that is bad, gross, and animal, while the

divine germ knows no sun-compelling warmth or light at a time when nature sets the seal of destiny on the human soul. On this subject Helen Campbell, in the following extracts from her admirable work, "Darkness and Daylight in New York," makes some thoughtful observations and cites a typical case giving a glimpse of the utter hopelessness which pervades the future of a large per cent of the waifs who are swept monthly into life in the worst tenement sections of our great cities:—

The tenement house and its life have done effectual work and one that goes on day by day. It is here that we must seek for the mass of the poor and it is here that we find the causes which, combined, are making of the generation now coming up a terror in the present and a promise of future evil beyond man's power to reckon.

There shambled along the street a man once hard-working and honest. Drink led him here and a weak will and constant temptation made him powerless to reform. He married a woman in the ward, who, as he went lower and lower, took in washing and tried her best to give the children a chance. Eleven of these came into the world, each a little more burdened than the last with the inheritance of evil tendency. Five died before they were three weeks old, from want of proper food and from vitiated blood. Two were born idiots, and are in an asylum. Two are in prison serving long terms and one has disappeared.

Colonel Thomas W. Knox, another competent writer on this subject, observes*:—

In some of these wretched localities no education but that of crime obtains. Ignorant, weary and complaining wives, cross and hungry husbands, wild and ungoverned children, are continually at war with one another. The young criminal is the product almost exclusively of these training houses of vice and crime in the worst tenement-house districts. Eighty per cent of the crimes committed in New York City against property and against the person are perpetrated by individuals who never had any home life, or whose homes had ceased to be decent and desirable. Ignorant and poor, filthy and degraded, the low tenement victim drags out an existence which is as logical as it is miserable. Born in poverty and rags, nursed in filth and darkness, reared in ignorance and vice, matured in sin and crime, is the life history of the great majority of tenement-house creatures, and the end must be either the almshouse or the prison, or possibly the felon's death.

It is estimated that the Eleventh Precinct of New York City, which is a tenement-house district, contains six per cent of the city's population, and the fact that the proportion of arrests in this precinct is nearly double that of any other precinct is a striking commentary upon the evils resultant upon tenement-house life and its tendency to crime. This precinct contains a dense cosmopolitan population. It abounds with tenement houses, good, bad and indifferent—mostly bad. No district of equal population in the city better illustrates the extreme destitution and misery of vast numbers of human beings huddled indiscriminately together like a mass of garbage, to ferment and decompose into offensiveness; and certainly there is no other district in which intemperance, pauperism and crime prevail to so large an extent as in this. In it are born and bred a class of beings whose immediate

* "Darkness and Daylight in New York."

ancestors were drunken, poverty-stricken and vile, whose progeny must be paupers and criminals—pitiable as well as lawless.

Even though the solemn moral obligation of society to the unborn be left entirely out of consideration and the problem studied simply as an economic question, wisdom would suggest the abolition of conditions which make an increasing number of insane asylums, homes for idiots, reformatories and penitentiaries inevitable, and which at the same time exert a still more baleful influence upon the social body, even if more subtle, by poisoning the current of political life as surely as would the once pure water of a reservoir be poisoned by the emptying into it of a sewer carrying the refuse of a city.

III.

The fact that those who in answer to the cry of dilettanteism prophesy smooth things, have systematically minified the extent of the evil when they have found it impossible longer to deny it, has led many persons to believe that the slum problem was largely exaggerated. This impression has been strengthened by the fact that casual passers-by seldom see from the street anything which suggests the life revealed in the courts and alleys leading from the great thoroughfares. I have on many occasions been startled by the transition from apparently substantial wealth to indescribable poverty when taking a few steps up a passage way or through an alley from Hanover and other streets in Boston. The street front of the buildings was brick, sometimes several stories high and bearing no marks of dilapidation; in the rear were squalid courts, swarming with the city's miserales. And what is true of Boston is doubtless true of other cities. Mr. Riis, in speaking of New York, says:—

The worst tenements in New York do not, as a rule, *look bad*. Neither Hell's Kitchen nor Murderer's Row bears its true character stamped on the front. They are not quite old enough, perhaps. The same is true of their tenants. The New York tough may be ready to kill where his London brother would do little more than scowl; yet, as a general thing, he is less repulsively brutal in his looks. Here again the reason may be the same; the breed is not so old. A few generations more in the slums, and all that will be changed. To get at the pregnant facts of tenement-house life one must look beneath the surface.*

One of the most faithful pictures of tenement-house life is found in the report of an agent of the New York Sanitary Aid Society, who thus described the result of his investigations in the Eleventh Precinct:—

The investigations reveal a state of affairs than which nothing more horrible can be imagined, and which, although perhaps equalled, cannot be surpassed in any European city. To get into these pestilential human

* Jacob Riis in "How the Other Half Lives."

rookeries you have to penetrate courts and alleys reeking with poisonous and malodorous gases arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions and often flowing beneath your feet. You have to ascend rotten staircases which threaten to give way beneath every step, which in some cases have already broken down, leaving gaps that imperil the limbs and lives of the unwary. Walls and ceilings are black with the accretions of filth which have gathered upon them through long years of neglect. It exudes through cracks in the boards overhead and runs down the walls; it is everywhere.

The rooms are crowded with sick and dirty children. Often several families occupy the same apartment. One of the inspectors reports twenty-five persons in three so-called rooms, of which two are mere closets without windows or openings to the hall. Here is a family of father, mother and four children, taking in fourteen boarders and living in three rooms. There are fifteen people of all sexes and ages in two little rooms, a great portion of which is in addition taken up with old rags and refuse. One of the directors discovered parents, three children, and fifteen geese living in a filthy cellar. Another visited a room which had actually not been cleaned or whitewashed for five years, where the ceiling was tumbling down in pieces, one of the children being in bed from severe wounds on the face and shoulder inflicted by the falling plaster. Here were found a woman and five small children who were actually starving, having eaten nothing for two days; there a woman but two days after confinement being ejected by an inhuman landlord.

It is frequently exceedingly difficult to get at the facts concerning the struggles and privations of thousands who slave themselves to death in the heart of our great, bustling, careless cities. A very striking illustration of this truth was given by the well-known economic writer and lecturer of the Northwest, Eva McDonald-Valesh, who as special agent for the *Chicago Tribune** went to New York after the press had heralded the announcement that the sweating evil had been abolished in that city. This lady found that the evil had not been abolished, notwithstanding the positive assertions of conventional prophets. She found that for political or other reasons some were indiffer-

* *The Tribune* in an editorial notice of Mrs. Valesh's revelations said: The gauntlet of dangers run by *The Tribune's* representative in visiting New York's "sweater" district last week, and the refusal both of the police and factory inspection departments to furnish any manner of assistance or protection, give an adequate idea of what municipal government may become under Tammany domination and an official corps composed of Tammany's minions. The same Supt. Byrnes who protects the saloons, gambling and bawdy houses against the investigations of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, sought to protect the "sweating" bosses from the investigations of *The Tribune*. Like Dr. Parkhurst, Mrs. Eva McDonald-Valesh, in her investigation for *The Tribune*, was told that *The Tribune's* mission in the interests of labor was none of her business. As told in yesterday's seven-column review, fifty-eight "sweater" buildings, the abodes of over a thousand families, were visited by *The Tribune's* representative, despite the claims of the police and factory inspection departments that there were no "sweaters" in New York. Think of nine adult workmen living, cooking, eating, sleeping and toiling by continual lamplight in one unlighted and unventilated room eight by twelve! Think of an entire family, down to the children that should be in the primary department at school, working in such a den at twelve dollars per week for from twelve to fourteen hours' work daily! No wonder the contractors needed the protection of the Tammany police and factory inspectors. Without such protection, such heasty conditions could not survive on American soil. . . . New York has laws against the sweating system; but of course the officials of that city see that the laws are not enforced "too hard." That would be "Puritanic." So within a few minutes' walk of the city hall the sweater tenements exist by the block.

ent, while one man who knew where the sweaters could be found refused to go without police protection. Accordingly Mrs. Valesh repaired at once to Inspector Byrnes. Her ill success here was thus given in her report*:—

It is sufficient to state that he courteously but decisively refused our request and threw in some fatherly advice, without extra charge, as to the advisability of minding one's own business and not meddling with strange people. He even delicately hinted that the sweating system might be a figment of some agitator's lively imagination.

Finally, however, this courageous little lady with an indomitable will chanced to meet a young Hebrew tailor with whom she was acquainted. He promised to pilot her through the dens which, according to the conventional writers, the press, and the authorities, *did not exist*. This young man assumed the rôle of a boss sweater hunting for strayed workmen and with Mr. and Mrs. Valesh, visited over fifty sweaters' dens. The plan succeeded admirably and in the following lines Mrs. Valesh, while narrating some of the scenes she witnessed, gives a word picture of the lives which thousands of our fellow-beings are leading in this republic*:—

About five minutes' walk from the city hall in New York is the most densely populated section of the earth. From 225,000 to 500,000 people to the square mile are packed in tenement houses which cover from sixty to ninety per cent of the ground space in each block. There are not only the four and five story houses fronting the street, but another row built inside the first and only separated from it by a few feet, then in the middle space another square building packed with humanity from top to bottom. Within the area of Mulberry, Hester, Baxter, Canal, Ludlow, Essex, and East Broadway streets are hundreds of sweat shops. Not only the coarser goods but the finer grades of women's underwear, cloaks and men's clothing are made there.

That underwear which you buy so much cheaper than you could make it at home, probably comes from a sweat shop and could you see the conditions under which it is made, you would shudder at the bare thought of having it touch your skin. That ready-made suit which seems so cheap and pretty, probably served as a bed for the filthy, diseased wretches who made it. I know that reputable firms deny that their goods are made by sweaters. The wholesale firms in New York are insulted at the bare imputation of such a thing; yet they admit that the work is given to contractors and they don't know where it is done. I found those same contractors running sweat shops in Essex and Baxter Streets. Under the impression that our guide was a boss himself, they told him what firms they worked for and where contracts could be obtained. One of the worst places visited was a fourth story attic, where six men and two women lived and worked. They were making coats for a firm which has branch houses in Minneapolis and in every city of any size in the country.

Nearly all of the tenements are four or five stories high. The ground floor of the outer building will be occupied by a store of some sort. The other floors have four flats on each floor and two rooms to each flat.

* Chicago Daily Tribune, Jan. 1, 1903.

The outer room is ten by twelve and has two windows. The inner room has no window and measures four by six. In a two-room flat of this sort it is a common thing for six or eight grown people to live and work, not to mention an average of four or five children to every family. These buildings, facing the street, get some sunlight and such air as filters down the crowded streets.

Then remember that back of this outer building is always one and sometimes two inner buildings. In these inner buildings people actually live and work and rear children without seeing daylight from one end of the year to the other. They keep lamps burning all day. A faint twilight on a summer's day is the nearest approach to daylight that their habitation ever knows. One water faucet and waste pipe in the hall does service for every four families. The closets are always in the crowded court yard and all fuel must be carried up by hand.

In the two days and a half we visited fifty-eight buildings and saw the dwelling places of more than a thousand families. Breathing the foul air, in addition to the physical exertion involved in climbing and descending five-story buildings, left me in a state of prostration from which I did not recover for several days. After it was over I understood better why no woman and but few men had ever made anything like a thorough investigation of the system. Filth and wretchedness, the desperate struggle for existence and the absolute lack of anything approaching home life, combine to make a picture which seems to be burned into the memory of any one who has seen it. The little children are the most pathetic sight of all. The bad conditions, instead of killing out the race, seem only to encourage reproduction. The alleys, court yards, cellars and streets fairly swarm with children.

"They die like flies in the summer time," said our guide, "and the undertakers make special rates for the summer traffic in the tenement district."

At 45 Ludlow Street, in an inner court building, the first and second floors were used as stables, the third floor was divided into three rooms, each eight by twelve. The rooms were unplastered and through the rough board floor a stifling odor arose from the stables. The sweaters' rooms could only be reached by a staircase on the outside of the building. In one room were two women and five men; in another four women, a child and four men. Nine men worked in the third room. These people lived and cooked in these rooms. Besides the sewing machines there was a roll of bedding and a few cooking utensils scattered about the fire place. The air was so foul that we were unable to stay more than a few minutes.

At 29 Orchard street there was an "improved factory," as it is facetiously termed. The present law in regard to sweaters requires that workmen shall not live in the place where they work. The law is openly disregarded in most instances, but in this case the boss said, "Ah, mine vriend, I haf complied vith de law, see,"—adding to our guide in a lower tone, "It costs less." The "improved factory" was a room partly below the level of the ground in an inner court building. It was five by seven and the brick walls were dripping with moisture. Three men made vests there and burned a Rochester lamp fourteen hours a day, as there was no window in the room. A few fines would reimburse the boss for the rent of the room, and more workers could be crowded into a room when no space had to be allowed for bedding or cooking utensils.

In the attic of a gloomy building at 10½ Ludlow Street six girls and thirteen men worked in a room twenty by twenty-five and seven and one half feet high. These people lived and cooked in a separate room. But with nineteen sewing machines in this room and bundles of clothing

heaped on the floor it was so crowded that one worker couldn't stir without disturbing others. The low ceiling and utter lack of ventilation made the air so thick and murky that one could hardly distinguish the faces of the workers. They never looked up from their work as we came in, but stitched away as if their very life depended upon not losing a second.

People who know Mrs. Valesh know she is a careful, conscientious, high-minded woman, as thoughtful as she is truthful. Her report can be relied upon as being an under, rather than an over, statement of what she and her husband witnessed. Referring to the sanitary side of the question, she shows how in case of a plague the nation may well expect to suffer the penalty of its criminal indifference. On this point she thoughtfully observes:—

The New York tenement district continues to exist because the dear public doesn't like to interfere with an arrangement which is solely profitable to landlords and contractors. Verily the tenement district is an example of the American interpretation of *Laissez faire*. Even conservative old Edinburgh in its city council passed an ordinance and seized upon a tenement district which didn't compare with that of New York for filth and density of population. By right of eminent domain the tenements were pulled down because their existence menaced public health. A rule was then enforced prohibiting more than a certain number of tenements to a block, and also regulating the number of tenants to a building. Even the cholera scare could only make New York spill a few hogsheads of whitewash on its dangerous district.

We found several districts, however, to which the health department had not penetrated at all. The sweat shops change their location every time a list of them is printed. We found a new colony on East Broadway, which is a comparatively wide, clean street.

At 28 East Broadway there were three sweat shops in one building. This had another building inside, and only about two feet of space between the two walls. The tenants had hit upon a convenient way of disposing of garbage by dropping it out of the windows into this space. Even in winter the stench was nauseating, and how it could be cleaned out without tearing down a wall was a mystery. This building had not received the cholera coat of whitewash. The halls and stairways were slippery with dirt.

A suspender factory presented the common condition of three men, a woman, and a young girl working and living in two tiny rooms. On the next floor three women and two men were working on ladies' fine underwear. This place was remarkable because it was the only place where I saw old people. One of the women was sixty-five years old and very feeble, but said she must work as long as she lived. She seemed to wonder why she need live so long, when others died before they were fifty. The man was fifty-four years old. It looked strange to see his big, coarse fingers trying to guide the work under the machine and turn out the requisite amount of work each day. The younger woman had her head bandaged, and said she suffered from toothache and neuralgia so that she couldn't sleep nights. Still such incidents as old age or illness cannot be allowed to disturb the daily and nightly click of the machines. Speaking of old people, our guide said he had never before seen any sweater over forty-five, and I think it may be safely stated that the conditions under which the sweaters live cuts off life from ten to fifteen years before the normal limit is reached.

IV.

The enormous revenue in rents realized from the tenement houses, and the fact that under our present system of taxation the moment a landlord improves his building the taxes rise, have much to do with the maintenance of these plague spots. A writer in the *Boston Evening Transcript** some time since called attention to this matter in the following lines:—

So far as my observation extends, the poor laborers of Boston are very imperfectly housed. They are mostly living in old buildings, much out of repair, and many of them unhealthy from a sanitary point of view. About two hundred buildings were last year declared unfit for habitation, and the occupants were obliged to leave them in midwinter. Few of us can realize the amount of suffering the poor people must have endured during the present winter, on account of the difficulty of keeping themselves warm. Many of them are obliged to buy coal by the basket, and pay for it at the rate of nine dollars per ton. We give a few statistics from the last report of the Labor Bureau, which will surprise many of our people:—

WARD.	ASSESSED VALUATION.		Annual Rental.	Percentage of Annual Rental of Combined Valuation of Land and Buildings.
	Land.	Buildings.		
4	\$300	\$300	\$228 00	38.00
4	400	200	288 00	48.00
5	800	200	276 00	27.60
7	1500	500	402 00	20.10
12	1700	500	390 12	17.73
16	1000	500	441 96	29.46
9	7300	200	344 00	4.59
5	1500	500	336 00	16.00

The root of the difficulty seems to be that most of this property is held for speculative purposes, and the owners are trying to get as much income as possible from the buildings on the land, while spending as little as possible on them. Hence we have as a result, in one instance at least, that a building worth \$200 obtains an income of \$344 a year. It stands on land valued at \$7,000 or more. A report of some six hundred of these buildings shows that, taking the valuation of land and buildings, they yield a rent of twelve and a half per cent yearly, and about twenty-five per cent on the value of the buildings themselves.

After the agitation originated in Boston by THE ARENA's papers on the slums of the modern Athens, one of our daily journals† published a series of articles, giving the rental profits on some of the tenement buildings. It showed that in some instances the slum tenements yield as high as twenty-five per cent profit; some return fifteen per cent and some ten per cent. On this phase of the subject Mrs. Valesh, in her report alluded to elsewhere, says:—

* Edward Ginn, in *Boston Transcript*, Feb. 23, 1893.

† *Boston Evening Record*.

In one of these dark buildings we happened to find the "housekeeper." She is the agent of the landlord. Her duties are to let the rooms, collect rent, and see that tenants do not get behind or move out without paying. As the housekeeper must be some one who is willing to live in the building, her manners are not apt to be the most refined. This housekeeper was an Irish woman about fifty years old. She wanted to rent rooms to boss sweaters, and was quite willing to tell her terms. Two rooms in the inner buildings rent for eight dollars a month. In the outer buildings the second floor rooms rent at twelve dollars, and the others at ten dollars. These rates are really higher than those paid by mechanics for clean, airy rooms up town. She figured the proceeds of the outer and inner buildings of which she had charge at \$368 a month, or \$4,416 a year. She said no room was ever idle more than a few days. The constant influx of emigrants always creates a good demand.

"Do people always earn enough to pay such high rent?" I asked.

"Well, if they don't, out they goes, that's all," she replied. "These houses ain't hospitals nor asylums. If people can't pay it's none of my business."

"Enough has been collected out of every one of those tenements to rebuild them in brown stone and marble three times over," said a prominent rental agent.

The systematic agitation of this problem which has been carried on in Boston for three years has done something toward bettering the lot of the dwellers in the tenement houses. But the abodes of a large proportion of our social exiles are still so terrible that only those who personally visit them can appreciate the horror of life condemned to such a prison, and things will continue thus until radical or fundamental social changes are inaugurated. The time has arrived when something more than palliative measures should be urged. No civilization can hope to endure which tolerates conditions so unjust that industrious citizens are forced to live as thousands of our people are living, and no nation can prosper which is indifferent to the existence of such moral and physical plague spots as the ever growing slums of our great cities. In this connection it is well to bear in mind the important fact that almost every great city is walled in by vacant lots, which are being held idle by syndicates or individual capitalists, until society doubles, trebles, or quadruples the cost paid for them. And it should be remembered that our present system of taxation fosters the vacant-lot industry by not properly taxing *land values*.

Another fact to be remembered is that the people's common property — the streets and highways — are occupied by monopolies, which in many instances, octopus-like, twine their coils around legislation and the press and gain their own ends at an immense expense to the public, instead of paying a handsome income into the city's treasury for the use of the highways and being compelled to furnish adequate car service for the needs and comfort of the public. These corporations pay nothing for the enormously valuable street franchise and compel a large per cent of those

who daily enrich their coffers to stand on the platforms of the cars in order to enjoy the privilege of reaching their destination. Until our cities municipalize their street railways their citizens will be plundered and people will feel it necessary to remain huddled in the centres of the cities rather than hazard life at the mercy of avaricious and conscienceless corporations.

Statutes condemning the old death-trap buildings and compelling all new structures to be erected under proper sanitary regulations will be of service provided the laws are properly enforced. But to see that they are enforced, vigilant committees in many cities will be required.

Another important work which should command the attention of thoughtful people is that of establishing cheerful centres in the tenement-house regions — coffee houses, reading rooms and halls for concerts and various healthful forms of recreation, where the poor shall be welcomed and where they can be brought into touch with educational influences which will neutralize in a degree the evil effect of the omnipresent saloon. A great work lies along this line, and one which can be made a potent factor for elevating life and transforming many voters who are now a menace to honest and clean government into aids and defenders of justice and progress.

Many lines of work can be followed in the *immediate future* looking toward the abatement of the present evil, but the most important work of the hour is *an educational agitation* so fearless and earnest that people will be compelled to see the inhumanity of the present and the duty devolving upon the individual; an agitation so persistent and aggressive that the conscience of civilization shall be forced to cry out for radical economic changes so fundamentally just that the Golden Rule in Christian lands will come to mean something more than an "iridescent dream."

B. O. FLOWER.

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THE NEW TIME AND HOW ITS ADVENT MAY BE HASTENED.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE heart hunger of our time is as significant as it is inspiring. The inquiries relating to methods for the organization of the forces for justice and progress, which come from all quarters, indicate the universality of desire, as well as a general recognition among earnest men and women of the need for prompt action. In this paper I wish to give, by hints and illustrations, some helpful thoughts to those who desire to work in the moral and reformatory crusade now being pushed at various points throughout the republic.

We must not lose sight of the fact that while our union must ever be *one in aim*, having the *elevation and emancipation of humanity, through education and justice*, as its loadstar, the specific means and measures employed to accomplish this end will be varied to meet the requirements of the situation. In the great cities, for example, certain local evils will call for special consideration from unions; while in towns, villages, and small communities where those evils are absent, other lines of work can be effectively carried on. It is of the first importance that the moral and reformatory forces be brought into sympathetic relations; that in every community a moral and intellectual fire be started which will warm into life the frozen consciences of a large number of well-meaning people. It is also important that the larger views of justice and life be disseminated as rapidly as possible, and that they be so presented as to awaken a high sense of duty among intelligent persons who are in comparatively easy circumstances, and at the same time win the great commonwealth of the discontented, who are growing bitter under the injustice of present conditions.

Among those things which I feel to be of special importance along the line of educational work, I would mention the organization of educational classes, such as young people's clubs, societies for the discussion of vital problems, leagues for the promotion of justice and brotherhood—organizations which should encourage and educate the people into a knowledge of their individual duty and responsibility, and impress on each person the power which he or she should wield for progress and human brotherhood.

Shakespeare tells us, "There is no darkness but ignorance," and in the whole compass of literature I believe there is no profounder truth than this. Great and far-reaching questions of a fundamental character are to-day confronting the political world, and especially the republican world. These must be candidly discussed and examined, not by scholars alone, but by men and women who toil with hands as well as brains.

The social, economic, and political world is in a ferment which must eventuate in a magnificent educational step upward or a revolution. To speed the former and avert the latter is the sacred duty of the hour for all high-minded souls. What man or woman who has followed the social, and at times savage, unrest of England's industrial masses during recent years can doubt that bloodshed and undying hate have been averted through the vigorous, systematic, and unceasing labor of the Fabian Society?—a society whose propaganda work has probably been unequalled in the history of social movements, and through whose educational influence the impetuous and unreasoning have been restrained from convulsing society by deeds of violence, while millions of men and women have been awakened. Great reforms have been inaugurated through educational methods, and by organized work, while the greater strides which the near future promises indicate the power for peace and progress which lies in this plan of action.

Societies should be formed in every community for the systematic study of social and economic problems. Circulating libraries, filled with the literature of the new time, should be established in every neighborhood, and evenings should be set apart for the discussion or talking over of the great ethical, economic, and social problems which relate to the wider justice demanded by the present time.

Switzerland has shown what can be accomplished toward preserving an ideal republic, by the introduction of the initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation. Let our people be thoroughly acquainted with these measures, let them clearly understand what they mean and how they may be introduced, and then leave the matter in the hands of the voters.

The land question is a problem which will command more and more attention until radical readjustments are made which will recognize the principle that the earth belongs to *all the people*. It is the duty of the people to acquaint themselves with this great fundamental question, and after a clear conception of what it involves has been gained, it may be left with perfect safety to their intelligence.

The problem of transportation, which involves so much, affecting as it does all producers and consumers should be thor-

oughly discussed. Why are they who produce bounteous harvests barely living, and frequently, in spite of every effort, losing year by year homes upon which they have expended the strength of a score or more years, while our cities are thronged with the starving? Why is it that the producer and consumer are compelled to pay interest on watered stock, or stock representing many times the actual monetary outlay of the nation's great arteries of trade? Why were hundreds of thousands of Americans denied the opportunity of the unequalled educational advantages offered by the World's Fair through the avarice and cupidity of American railway barons? The evils of usury, and the just rights of the wealth producers, are questions which must be agitated until justice comes. These and other vital national problems must be discussed, for they affect the prosperity of America's millions.

The larger rights of woman also demand the attention of all who love justice and true morality. The truth, the philosophy, and possibilities expressed in these noble lines from Tennyson must appeal to all true men and women:—

The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free.
Woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse;
. . . like in difference.

Yet in the long years liker must they grow —
The man be more of woman, she of man;
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care;
More as the double-natured poet, each.

Then comes the statelier Eden back to man;
Then come the world's great bridals, chaste and calm;
Then springs the crowning race of human kind.

The cause of woman is the cause of every true man, and her rights and that broad justice which appreciates the real meaning of the Golden Rule should dominate every person who believes that nothing is so safe as justice, and that the highest wisdom will always be found in *doing what is right*.

In our great cities the slums — America's vast nurseries of crime, degradation, and immorality — the tenement evil, the sweating system, child labor, and other social wrongs and evils which are due to moral lethargy on the part of the people, and the operation of unjust social conditions, must be abated by a systematic and wisely directed educational agitation.

It is important, further, that classes be formed and lectures be given by specialists who have sympathetically studied the great

issues of the new time, and who are able to meet honest inquiry in such a manner as clearly to explain the nature of the questions involved.

The clubs or classes should not be confined to the investigation and discussion of social, economic, or political problems. The duty of man to man, of the individual to the state and the state to the individual, as comprehended in the popular conception of social problems, while of great importance, is not all. We must impress upon the individual the dignity of life and its responsibilities. Man's duty as husband and father; woman's duty as wife and mother; the influences of heredity, prenatal culture, and early environment—all these fundamental problems should be broadly treated, with reference to their bearing on society at the present time and the generation of to-morrow.

The ever present aim of all educational work should be to awaken the highest and best in man, woman, and child—for the child must not be overlooked. Indeed he is, perhaps, the most important factor to be considered, for upon his brain the most enduring impression can be made. And in order to further his advancement, classes for children should be formed, where not oftener than once a week the story of some noble life should be told in an entertaining way, a chalk talk or a magic lantern lecture given, and a fifteen minutes' study of some question calculated to awaken noble thoughts and stimulate high ideals. After this meeting the young people should have a picnic supper, which could easily be provided by a committee appointed to wait upon people interested in the cause of human advancement.

Young people's glee clubs should be formed, where the old and unjust thought should be sung out, and the new evangel of human brotherhood sung in. Few people appreciate the wonderful impetus a great reformation receives when songs which have leaped from prophet souls at white heat are passed along the line. Let the new truth be sung into the hearts of the people by such justice-awakening lays as James G. Clark's "Battle Hymn of Labor." Let some of the thrilling lines of Massey, Morris, and Charles Mackay be put to popular airs, and the cause of earth's millions will gain greatly by the tribute of song, while many who at first may sing these words mechanically will come into the vibratory currents or moral atmosphere in which the words were written, and henceforth they will be children of duty and of love.

II.

In relation to this work perhaps nothing is so important as for the individual to appreciate his duty and the possibilities for good which lie within his power, if he will faithfully and unselfishly

utilize them for the good of his fellow-man. There is no one whose influence for light and truth may not be extended down the generations if he appreciates his duty and is willing to exert his best efforts for the highest good. And because this truth of paramount importance is so little appreciated, I wish to give a few examples of varied character which illustrate what a single individual may accomplish.

A few years ago the wife of an ex-Governor of a New England state conceived the idea of helping and brightening the lives of the girls engaged in the factory in which her husband was interested. She accordingly organized a young woman's club, which met regularly on her husband's premises. Here the girls were taught how to cook, sew, and do domestic work; how and what to read, in order to develop the best in them; how to think originally and cultivate the individuality which marks the free man and woman. Many, also, were the pleasant hours passed when talks were given and papers read of an interesting, thought-stimulating, and hope-awakening character. They also sang and enjoyed music. And what was the result? A new world opened to them. This noble lady had awakened their higher natures. She had led them to discover a new and more glorious content within their own being; nor was this all. The awakened soul can no longer be selfish; these girls told others of the new light which had come into their barren lives, and from all directions came applications for membership. This club has grown to be a power for good of far greater proportion than the originator dreamed would be possible.

The results which have attended the guild work and university settlements in London, New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere are now too well known to require more than a mere mention as illustrative of the greater work to be accomplished by organized effort resulting from a union of earnest men and women who are ready to be just, and who appreciate the importance of awakening and quickening the higher nature which has too long slumbered.

Almost two years ago Mrs. Ferguson, the wife of a well-known physician in conservative New Orleans, conceived the idea of establishing an Arena Club, for the discussion of live and vital problems, and for the wider dissemination of the new truth which is dawning on our age from so many sides at the present time. Mrs. Ferguson is a Virginian, a descendant of Patrick Henry, and a woman of that superb courage which characterizes those who help the world onward. The club was formed. It has proved a wonderful educational factor, calling forth the highest thought and centering the minds of its members on noble and living truths. It has also secured the services of a number of the most eminent thinkers of the new time, who have given the club

the benefit of their careful, earnest, and profound thought. So important have been many of the papers or addresses given that the great dailies of New Orleans have published liberal extracts, and in one or two instances have given the entire address. In this way the fine new ideas of the dawn have been carried into tens of thousands of homes, and numbers of readers have been made acquainted with vital truths of which they would have remained in ignorance, had not one earnest, high-minded, and progressive woman appreciated and utilized the opportunities which lay before her.

Now let us suppose that on the week in which the New England lady, of whom I have spoken, formed her young woman's club, one thousand other American women had organized similar clubs; and let us suppose that at the time Mrs. Dr. Ferguson formed the Arena Club in New Orleans, similar clubs had been formed by thoughtful women in every city in America—what an immense upward leverage these organizations would have exerted by this time.

But it is not alone in the cities that this work can be carried on successfully; a splendid field opens before earnest individuals in every town, village, hamlet, and rural community. And it is well for those who dwell in the sparsely settled regions to remember that it is from the children of the soil that our nation draws her greatest minds and noblest heroes.

A few days ago I received a letter from the little town of Ketchum, Idaho, written by Mrs. I. I. Lewis, in which she outlines the work carried on by herself and family and Mr. and Miss Gillet of that place. Mr. Gillet is a scholar and widely read; he has become the natural head of the educational work carried on by what is called the "History Class." This association or club welcomes all people, and in it history is studied in a broad and philosophical manner. The outlines of past and recent events are given, and from these are drawn lessons for the present. Nor are its labors confined to history, even in the broadest meaning of the term. Each member is compelled to address the chair when called upon, if only to say yes or no, and in this way ready speakers are being developed, while the methods of instruction are so arranged as to interest all members while the reasoning faculties are being strengthened. Their aim is: (1) to broaden the horizon of knowledge; (2) to show the results of past history and the bearing of those events upon the present; (3) to strengthen the reasoning faculties and encourage independent thinking; (4) to make ready speakers and to brighten the barren lives of its members.

Another division of work, under the direction of Mrs. Lewis' daughter, is a large kindergarten class. Here, however, while

the children receive direct instruction, the older people are welcomed, and a most enjoyable evening is spent each week. Mrs. Lewis says: "Our people are poor, but the families who attend the history class pay twenty-five cents a month, and those who come to the kindergarten pay fifteen cents a month; and in this way money enough is raised to enable the work to be carried on." I regard the information contained in Mrs. Lewis' letter as very valuable, as it shows what is being done in a remote little snow-enveloped mountain town, and it contains hints for serious workers everywhere.

These are only a few suggestions thrown out for the encouragement of individuals who have heard duty's call, and for the purpose of awakening the sense of personal responsibility in those who are letting golden hours pass unfreighted into eternity under the delusion that one person cannot do anything of real value for the race. These thoughts relate to educational work; they are of paramount importance, for they look to the foundation of the new order, which is to be guided by knowledge and justice, love and liberty. This work is, in the highest sense, visiting Christ in prison. Knowledge and justice alone will liberate him.

But there is the starving, shelterless Christ at our door; he must be succored, and succored without delay. Philanthropy which regards charity as an ultimate is, to my mind, pernicious in the extreme. It is vicious in its influence upon the rich and the poor. But the charity which is carried on as a palliative or an emergency measure, and which ever holds the ultimate of justice and duty before both giver and receiver, is beneficent alike to all who come under its influence. It softens the bitterness of the poor man's lot, and places him in an attitude to receive the gospel of equity. It shows him how justice can be inaugurated without savagery, and thus stays the blind, unreasoning fury of hate and violence; while by bringing the other half into direct *rapprochement* with the world's bread winners, who suffer so much and enjoy so little, it will awaken all that is best in great natures, and lead them to make the cause of justice their cause.

Hence I would see that every man and woman in every city and county who had bread enough and to spare be advised of the exact conditions and needs of the naked and starving almost at their door. I would compel all persons to know the truth by a systematic campaign in which facts should be made to pierce the soul of all who are not so deeply self-anesthetized that the cry of the suffering Christ cannot awaken them. Next I would have the cities divided into sections, with committees who, in connection with the guilds or educational societies, would seek the suffering, and secure for them work when possible, and relief

when their needs demanded food and shelter. I would sow hope broadcast in the heart of the dweller in the social cellar.

There are many ways in which aid can be obtained. Perhaps a committee of earnest women would take up the work of house-to-house canvass. Perhaps ministers would be willing to plead the cause of the naked, starving Christ in their pulpits. In many instances the little ones in the schools would joyfully relieve distress and bridge over the gulf of abject want for those whose cases had been investigated by the society. And here let me illustrate what may be done wherever uninvited poverty pleads for aid, by giving, in the briefest possible words, a story of what has been accomplished along this line in the city of St. Paul, Minn.

In the year 1892, a gentleman with some earnest assistants who were giving their time and means to relieving and uplifting the poor of that city, found that as winter approached there were two hundred fifty families, more than two thirds of which were without male heads, who were facing starvation. There were more than two thousand persons in those two hundred fifty homes—a little army who could not think of the coming winter without a chill of terror. An appeal was made to the authorities of the public schools of the city for permission to allow those children who desired, to contribute something toward making Thanksgiving a day of gladness to these prisoners of poverty. The authorities consented. The teachers joined in the plan with an enthusiasm equalled only by that of the children. The problem was explained to the little ones, and they were left to bring anything they chose. Soon the stone began to roll, and little by little contributions were brought in by the children. In four days the forty-three public schools of St. Paul donated one hundred seventy-two wagon loads of provisions, fuel, and clothing for distribution, although no one pupil brought more than a peck of any kind of fruit or vegetables. Many incidents occurred which proved how valuable as a soul developer was the opportunity given the little ones to help others.*

* In referring to this phase of the question one of the St. Paul dailies made the following thoughtful observations: "It is the effect of this lesson in altruism upon them which cannot be weighed or measured. At an age when impressions are deep and lasting, when a profound stir to the feelings may develop traits that last a lifetime, when the character is sensitive to the moral argument of good works, and when enthusiasms count and wait for their fulfilment, the children of the people have been engaged in a noble work whose great results they themselves could witness and in whose joy they could share. It was, to many of them, a matter of personal self-sacrifice and an aid to discipline. It was by no means only or mainly the children of the rich whose thank-offerings filled to bursting the storerooms of the relief society. Each gift was a small one, and most of them represented not the careless generosity of parents, but the willing sacrifice of the child.

"One story is told too touching to be spared, because in it lie the divine suggestions of this Thanksgiving jubilee. A little girl came to her teacher, a child herself of the straitened homes of the poor, with a little cotton bag that held a single apple. It was a small apple, knotty and unpromising. But she had taken it such as it was, all that she had and to her a delightful treat, had carefully cleaned out the worm-eaten places,

So much for the story of Thanksgiving week in St. Paul in 1892. In 1893 the noble work was repeated on a larger scale. Over two hundred bushels of potatoes alone were contributed. The following from a communication from Mr. C. B. Gilbert, superintendent of the St. Paul schools, will be encouraging and valuable to those interested in this work. In reply to an inquiry from a friend in St. Paul, Mr. Gilbert, under date of December 17, wrote:—

The quantity of food and clothing taken to the relief rooms was enormous, but I have no exact statement of totals. Some of the larger schools sent from fifteen to twenty wagon loads of supplies. The principal of one school wrote me that six of the larger boys were busy from two o'clock until six taking the supplies in a wagon from the school to the relief rooms only a few blocks away. The supplies consisted of food of all kinds, clothing, and fuel. I enclose copies of statements from two schools which will indicate the general character of the work:—

354 lbs. flour, 27 lbs. corn meal, 12 lbs. graham flour, 31 lbs. oatmeal, 9½ lbs. tea, 2 lbs. coffee, 12 lbs. meat, 15 lbs. rice, 1 package macaroni, 1 box crackers, 11 lbs. beans, 10 lbs. sugar, 4 lbs. dried beans, 3 qts. cranberries, 2 cabbages, 3 squashes, ½ peck onions, 1 can beans, 2 cans oysters, 1 can blackberries, 1 can figs, 30 bushels potatoes, 5 ladies' waists, 2 scarfs, 1 hood, 1 skirt, 2 prs. overshoes, 5 caps, 11 men's vests, 14 coats, 10 prs. pants, 5 prs. shoes, 3 prs. men's overshoes, 4 ladies' jackets, 2 overcoats, 2 shirts, 1 lady's coat, 6 hats, 3 sets underclothes, 2 neckties, 1 pr. suspenders.

(No. 2.) 8 bbls. potatoes, 1½ bbls. cabbages, 1½ bbls. turnips, 1 bbl. onions, 1 bbl. apples, 1 bbl. carrots, parsnips, and squash. Tea, coffee, salt, sugar, ginger, spices, cider, vinegar, pickles, and catsup in great quantities. Many packages of oatmeal, cornmeal, buckwheat, rice, beans, and wheat flour in from 10 to 25 pound sacks. Meats of all kinds: chickens, turkeys, hams, bacon, salt pork, sausages. Canned fruits of all kinds, with many jars of home-made jelly, jam, preserves, and marmalade. Cakes, doughnuts, boxes of crackers, vanilla wafers, cookies, home-made buns and pies. Seven full loads of wearing apparel, including every article of attire for men, women, and children.

A noticeable feature of the work was the sewing done by the girls in the schools. Many articles of wearing apparel and home comfort were made in the schools, and others were made at home. In some of the schools most of the girls contributed an article or articles of their own handiwork. One little girl of twelve made entire a dress for a poor child of six. In some of the schools bedquilts were tied. In one kindergarten a bedquilt was made for the children's ward of St. Luke's Hospital, and scrap books of pictures pasted upon cloth were made for the Babies' Home, and delivered by the children in person.

and placed in them two little pieces of candy. This gift, precious to her as a feast to others, she brought carefully to school to be given to some one poorer than herself. It is the old, touching, divine story over again of uttermost compassion and self-forgetfulness. It is a glimpse of the higher kingdom through the heart of a little child. And in the thought of this, even the relief of the destitute and the comforting of the stricken seems a small thing. To create the impulse of sacrifice, to make it easy to forget self, to bring to the surface, with faith and courage, the divine instinct of altruism that lies so deep beneath the crust of selfish greed—this is to set at play the waters of a fountain which all the rest of life shall not stifle. Thousands of children knew that lesson last week, not as a dogma, but as an article of acted faith. What is it not worth to them? What may it not be worth to the community, torn by the love of mammon and the struggle to be first at any cost, when it is made up of men and women who took their first real lesson in altruism at Thanksgiving time?"

I have given this extended notice because it illustrates so impressively what can be done through concerted effort, without any one being made to suffer. It will be helpful, further, as showing what has already been accomplished.

Another thing to be considered is, a systematic crusade looking toward overcoming evil by good. Coffee houses should be established in the humblest and the worst sections of every city. The houses should be clean and inviting; the food should be plain and nutritious, and furnished at as low a price as possible, covering the actual cost. In connection, free public reading rooms, supplied with the latest and best literature, should lure men, women, and children to high thinking and noble endeavor. Halls should also be erected, where concerts, chalk talks, stereopticon lectures, and other entertainments, elevating, interesting, and instructive in character, would gladden otherwise dull and heavy hours, and put high thoughts and new hope into darkened souls. There should also be gymnasiums, swimming pools, and in fact everything that could develop and make brighter and better the lives of our poor. These temples of life would prove most formidable enemies to the omnipresent temples of death — the low dance hall, the saloon, and the gambling dens, which at present are almost the only brilliantly illuminated spots at night in the slums of many of our cities. This would be a practical way of overcoming evil with good. These places could be made educational centres, and from them could be carried on a propaganda work, along the lines of social, political, economic, educational, and ethical progress.

Another work which would come in time would be the establishment of industrial homes, where orphans and children who had no person competent to care for them could be educated amid pure, healthful surroundings and taught useful trades. These schools have proved so successful in the Netherlands and in Scotland that it is a crying shame that our people should remain indifferent while in every populous community hundreds of children, who might be made useful citizens, are yearly sinking into vice and crime. These things, it will be understood, are only thrown out as hints along the line of procedure which the life and teaching of Jesus suggests, and which the New Democracy demands.

The serious objection to our present-day charitable work, and its method, lies in the fact that it is not made an auxiliary to the more important and truly fundamental educational work. It is not subordinated to the demand of justice, and is either spasmodic in character or pursued as an ultimate instead of being regarded as merely a temporary palliative while every hand and brain works for the great fundamental reforms which alone can

emancipate the millions, by securing them justice. Charity carried on instead of justice, or as an ultimate, in effect strengthens conservative injustice, and renders more hopeless the very conditions which make possible uninvited poverty in one of the richest nations on the face of the earth. Moreover it tends to weaken the independent spirit of the poor and lowers their self-respect. But employed as a palliative, under such conditions as outlined above, it would be at once beneficial and humane; and, rightfully carried on, it could be made the door through which we might enter the citadel of poverty and enlighten it.

On the other hand, our philosophers and theoretical reformers, after they have promulgated noble ideals and outlined practical plans for redemptive work based on justice, frequently remain in seclusion, expecting the cause to reach and leaven society, ignoring the fact that the grandest ideals of social progress will remain as exquisite marble statues, so far as the multitude is concerned, until the breath of life—human sympathy—is breathed into them. They must be carried to the industrial millions in such a way that the humble will see and feel that they are more than glittering generalities. The truths contained must be taught line upon line, by hearts alive with tenderness, by souls aglow with human sympathy. And this personal work, which is so effective in its redemptive character, is equally helpful to the apostle of justice, for nothing so deeply impresses thoughtful people with the need of radical and fundamental social reform as personal contact with the miserables in the sloughs of want.

To me it seems not only wise but essential that this twofold work be carried on, if we are to conquer peaceably and speedily. The present is no time for sleeping. We are living in a crucial hour for the republic. Peace and progress may be ours if we are wise enough to be just and prompt in improving our opportunities along broad, wise, and humane lines of conduct. But a few more years characterized by increasing poverty among the wealth producers, and increasing millions among the wealth acquirers and absorbers; a few more years witnessing abject want crouching in the shadow of colossal fortunes (which have risen through class legislation and special privileges), and we shall reap in the whirlwind of savage revolution the fruits of our slothful short-sightedness and selfish indifference. I have no fear for the ultimate triumph of justice, because general intelligence and widespread discontent will render it impossible for wrong to conquer. But the real question which confronts us is, whether the next step shall be revolutionary or evolutionary in character. Our appeal is to those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the establishment of justice on the earth, and who wish to see the new time ushered in as a golden dawn instead of being born amid the storm and wrath of violence and animal savagery.

THE CHURCH AS A MISSIONARY FIELD.

BY REV. WALTER VROOMAN.

A SHORT time ago I attended a social reform meeting which for hall rent, advertising, and speaker's hire cost its promoters forty-five dollars. There were twenty-two persons present and a friend informed me that to his certain knowledge twenty of these already held the lecturer's opinions concerning the measures advocated and were probably as familiar as he with the evils described.

Soon after this I attended a Sunday evening church service devoted to the same social reform. The audience numbered more than fourteen hundred persons, to nearly all of whom the ideas suggested were new. There were several speakers and their words were published at length in the morning and evening papers of the following day. The cost of this meeting to the reform element was fourteen dollars.

At the former meeting two strangers were induced to listen to an exposition of the new ideal for an hour at a cost of forty-five dollars; or more than twenty dollars each; at the other the new gospel was presented to fourteen hundred strangers in a much more impressive way at a cost, to the reformers, of about one cent each. In addition to this the meeting was a matter of public interest and through the press the main points presented were carried to a hundred thousand more. These two incidents illustrate the difference between the old educational methods and the new; between those who expect to lead the masses from whom they isolate themselves and the scientific reformer who remains with the people and utilizes their established institutions in the cause of progress. It suggests the superior methods of the new Union for Practical Progress. And has the time not come when a man should use his mother wit in humanitarian work as in other matters? Do not two and two make four in reform as in business? Is it not the course of wisdom to make two converts to the belief in happier social conditions with one dollar and one hour of exertion rather than one convert by spending two dollars and two hours?

There is one fact to which reformers everywhere should have their attention called. It is that in every large city there are several hundred magnificent structures now used only a few hours a week.

The words of the ancient prophets are now repeated in them freely. They can also be made to ring with the words of our modern prophets. And not only can these buildings be made to resound with the promises of a better and happier world, but a large number of sincere people of every community already have the habit of assembling in them at least once a week and this church-going habit, as well as the buildings, can be made to minister to the cause of human brotherhood.

Instead of leaving the people and getting up an opposition meeting in an opposition place, we should remain with them and utilize the church service, and it can be done. Contrary statements notwithstanding, a considerable part of the membership of what is called the Christian church to-day, shares, though unintelligently, the divine social enthusiasm exemplified in the life and death of Jesus. And although the percentage is smaller, there are many clergymen who in preaching forget our national deity — *Gold* — and only think of God; some in every city and nearly every town, who, if encouraged, will permit the proclaiming of the simple gospel from their pulpits. Scattered throughout every state are those who will help in urging the people to take the Sermon on the Mount from the book of Matthew and translate it into the fabric of our national life, some who will help in the eminently Christian work of reorganizing human society on a basis of love.

A novel plan has been devised for holding up the hands of such; it is the organization in every city of what is called "The Wandering Congregation." This Wandering Congregation is made up of persons interested in social reform, who instead of scattering their attendance go once each Sunday to one church service devoted to the cause of the Union for Practical Progress. The members contribute each a few cents weekly for advertising and the expense of securing speakers who are supplied, one or two in addition to the regular pastor, at each of these services. Some different church is induced to devote a service to the movement every Sunday, and to discuss the particular social reform topic of the month in harmony with the programme of the national union. The Wandering Congregation alone might form an insignificant body, but when added to a regular church congregation insures a splendid audience. This not only leaves a more favorable impression on each listener, but insures a fair report in the daily papers, thereby carrying the gospel of social reform to a whole city once each week.

There are hundreds of people in every city who will attend church if promised something helpful and alive. They are not especially attached to any one building, locality, or clergyman, and rather prefer variety. The Wandering Congregation is

adapted to their needs, and in inducing a church to devote a service to the cause of justice, no argument can be more effective than the promise of several hundred new faces among the pews. This work should be started immediately in every town and city of the country.

Another plan that has been signally successful in connection with several local unions for practical progress is that of the Young People's Missionary Society. Instead of circulating Sunday-school papers containing pictures of prostrate Hindoos waiting to be crushed by the Juggernaut, or of Hindoo mothers throwing their infants into the river Ganges (both of which customs, by the way, are now nearly obsolete), and instead of raising money to send religious teachers to these far-off lands and peoples, this new missionary society exists for the purpose of sending missionaries among the modern mammon worshippers of the mis-called Christian churches of America. These young people are engaged in the heroic task of holding up the example of Jesus among our civilized heathen who have displaced the meek and lowly Social Reformer of Nazareth by a phantom of their imaginations, and are now as of old crying for the crucifixion of the faithful few who follow in His footsteps.

These new missionaries talk not of the Juggernaut of India nor the cannibalism of distant islands, but are concerned with the civilized Juggernauts of our modern cities whose cruel wheels by crushing humanity send a constant stream of gold into the purses of pew-renting stock holders; and with those refined species of cannibalism known as "sweating," child labor and coal mining, that devour the bodies, minds and souls of men and women, children and invalids, from the profits of which many churches have been built and the salaries of many clergymen paid. These death-dealing implements of American idolatry are described in all their hideousness by our young enthusiasts in the very strongholds of our gold-worshipping cities. Were there ever before such missionaries as these? And many of them are still only boys and girls, attendants at high school and college. Still, imbued with the new spirit of our time, these young disciples of the new dispensation are doing sublime service in the cause of justice.

Their plan is as follows: They make a list of the churches of the city with their locations the hours of prayer meetings, young people's meetings, Bible classes and all meetings at which a stranger would have an opportunity to speak. Then each missionary is assigned to a church. He or she attends during the week one or more of its meetings, speaks of the Social Reformer Jesus and asks all who are interested in His religion to attend the missionary meeting of the following week. At the

close of the service he gives out written or printed slips containing address and time of meeting, and continues his work by conversation with the few who are invariably interested sufficiently to gather round him and wish him God speed. Some may be sufficiently interested to attend the meeting announced, or it may be the whole incident will pass from their minds. But at the next meeting there is another stranger present who also testifies concerning the gospel of social reform, and promises the eventual overthrow of evil in the world and the universal reign of love. He again invites those present to aid in this holy cause. At each meeting a different stranger, filled with faith, appears with the same pressing invitation, until some one or two of the members are induced to join the central body. These are then expected to keep their fellow churchmen informed concerning the movement, and their church is counted among those joined to the central body. Then a new church is selected in its place as a field for systematic missionary effort.

Each missionary is expected to visit a different church every week, or fifty-two during the year. The results will be most surprising. When the secretary of the local Union prepares his monthly letter to the clergy, asking their coöperation in some one definite reform measure, each missionary is expected to deliver at least one letter personally, and add his persuasive power to the written plea. When in the central body there is one member for every church in the city, the method of sending these letters by post will be at an end.

In a similar manner the Catholic literary and temperance societies and the Jewish and other social clubs, classes and debating societies are visited, and an attempt is made to secure at least one member of each organization to the central body. Such intimate relations are thus established between the central body and the various existing organizations of a city that nearly the whole population can have a new moral issue presented to them within a week's notice and each society receive the message by one of its own members.

When the Union for Practical Progress becomes as well organized throughout the nation as it is now in several cities, it will be able, by this method, to secure a million signatures to a petition in behalf of some needed reform within two weeks after the order is given by the national committee. Such a thing is unprecedented, but it is perfectly practicable.

A PROPHET'S CRY TO THE CHURCH.

WE are in the midst of a social revolution and the lines of demarcation between the positions held by the priesthood of conventional injustice and the prophets of the new democracy, are being more clearly drawn with each succeeding month. The priesthood of plutocracy are engaged in attempting to show how *little* a working man can live on, and in assuring the people that, despite the fact that our slums are growing more populous every year and our farmers becoming a peasantry of *renters*, social conditions are improving and in the course of a few centuries will be better than they are. *It is the duty of the people to be patient.* Such is the gospel of the popular defenders of conventional plutocracy and class privileges, on both sides of the ocean. In opposition to the teachings of these minions of intrenched injustice is the rapidly increasing army of prophets who stand for the democracy of the new time, and who are pointing out to the people the fact that plutocracy is systematically carrying on a sham battle, while the capitalists on either side are ever ready to fall on each other's necks when the sham fight is over and enjoy a good laugh at the expense of the duped masses who have been misled by the cannonading with blank cartridges. They are pointing out the important fact that *nothing but radical or fundamental social changes can meet the demand of the present day*; that the abolition of all class privileges and the establishment of "equality of opportunities" must mark the next step in human progress.

Last month I called attention to the wonderful social vision written by Joaquin Miller. I now wish to notice a volume quite as remarkable in its way, and one which is destined to exert a far-reaching influence upon earnest men and women within the church. In Professor George D. Herron's new work, "The New Redemption," we have a prophet's message to the sleeping church which reminds one of the clarion voice of Savonarola. It is a book which has come from a mind ablaze with lofty enthusiasm for humanity, a soul fired with a passion for justice.

The author though orthodox is not conventional. To him Jesus is not an impractical dreamer whenever the great Nazarene discourses on man in his relation to his fellow-men. "The Sermon on the Mount," he says, "is the science of society; it is a treatise on political economy; it is a system of justice." I have not, in years, read a work from an orthodox Christian, so brave, bold and strenuous as this remarkable little volume. It will prove exceedingly disquieting to easy-going church-members, who honor God with their lips while their hearts are far from Him. With unflinching courage Professor Herron assails the evils of plutocracy in lines which will thrill the justice-loving reader. He points out to a sleeping church her duty. Here are a few expressions in this message to his Christian brethren:—

We do not believe in Christ any more than we are ready to obey Him. It is the religious self-delusion of the modern church that calls Jesus its Lord without dreaming of doing the things that He commands. . . . If Christianity cannot be applied to the actual life of man, if the Golden Rule cannot be practised in the market, if the search

*"The New Redemption," by George D. Herron, Professor of Applied Christianity in Iowa College. Author of "The Larger Christ," etc. Cloth, pp. 176, price 75c. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. For sale at the office of the Arena Publishing Company.

for righteousness is not the natural law of progress, if the secular doctrine of property is essential to material success, then God has not spoken His truth and revealed His life in Jesus Christ. . . . Matter is a usurper, a tyrant and destroyer, when permitted to rule the spirit; when it absorbs the strength of life in physical comforts and material gains that are not an end in themselves, but must perish with the using. . . . What we call the getting of a living ought to be merely incidental to the development of a Christ character. It is as immoral for us to make physical comfort and material gain the object of our thought and deeds as it would have been for Jesus to make the comfort of His body and the accumulation of property the object of His miracles. . . . The authorities of the world had come to rest upon the principle of selfishness. Jesus stood for the principle of sacrifice. He taught the Golden Rule as the principle by which the kingdom of God, this reign of justice, this brotherhood of love, could be received and made permanent. He declared that the principle of selfishness was the source of all evil, of all the woe that sin brings.

It is in his chapter on, "The Social Revolution" that we are impressed most profoundly with Professor Herron's intellectual kinship with Savonarola. It is here that the contagion of moral ideas and the power of noble thought, cast off at white heat from a soul fired with the divine love of justice, are felt most perceptibly by the reader:—

A great idea is now leading the world's thought and lifting its hopes. Everywhere are the signs of universal change. The race is in an attitude of expectancy, straitened until its new baptism is accomplished. Every nerve of society is feeling the first agonies of a great trial that is to try all that dwell upon earth and issue in a divine deliverance. We are in the beginnings of a revolution that will strain all existing religious and political institutions, and test the wisdom and heroism of the earth's purest and bravest souls.

It will not do to say the revolution is not coming, or pronounce it of the devil. Revolutions, even in their wildest forms, are the impulses of God moving in tides of fire through the life of man. The dangerous classes in every age and nation are they who, in the interest of religious or political parties, say that the wrong cannot be set right; that selfishness, injustice, and inequality are natural virtues, essential to progress and the stability of civilization. They who say that man's conceptions of justice cannot be enlarged and purified are the ones who bring disaster and wrath upon the world. And they who seek to lift the works and institutions of men with visions of larger truth and assertions of wider justice are not destroyers, but builders; they make ready the way of the Lord into new redemptions of human life.

The whole social question is fast resolving itself into a question of whether or not capital can be brought into subjection to law.

Work ought to bear fruit in the livelihood, in the physical comfort, in the moral development, of all who work. When men began to use the earth, there was nature, which was the gift of God. And all the wealth of the world, in its last analysis, has been created from nature by labor in social relationships. Any wealth that is not the creation of labor is fictitious. The wealth of Mr. Gould represented the poverty of society. Every dollar his speculation made for himself made society so much the poorer.

Nor can the difference between the working and the capitalistic classes be concealed by the fact that wages average better now than forty or fifty years ago. It is a waste of time to cite statistics to show that the laboring man has economic goods he did not formerly have. Forty or fifty years ago the mechanic and his master worked side by side; the apprentice was the social equal of his employer. There was not the stratification of society which we now see, and almost every man produced something of his own livelihood. Fuel cost him but the work of bringing it to his own dooryard. He raised necessities which must now be purchased. The lowest wages of half a century ago represented a more equitable share in the social benefits of civilization than the highest wages of to-day.

There is enough in this world for all to have and enjoy in abundance, if there were a system by which there could be an equitable distribution of that abundance upon the principles of the divine economy. The state must be redeemed from the worship of property and from commercial theories of government.

The social revolution making the closing years of our century and the dawning years of the next the most crucial and formative since the crucifixion of the Son of man, is the call and opportunity of Christendom to become Christians.

These quotations give us an idea of the spirit of the work. We feel that the writer is a noble, justice-loving man, that he is essentially a prophet nature. Though I cannot say that I am in perfect accord with all of his social views, I recognize that he is a general fighting on the side of the earth's millions. He is a strong, brave man, who speaks from within the temple of conservative Christianity and speaks in such certain tones that many who have hitherto remained indifferent will awaken and perceive that in this strenuous and impassioned cry for

justice, God speaks to their higher selves. The cause of the people is stronger to-day than ever before. *The sun of the new democracy is rising.* The prophet souls of the new time, the economists who have the conscience and courage to go to the root of the social question, students of social problems who are not beholden to plutocracy or fettered by conventionalism, the sincere humanity-loving novelists and the finest natures among our poets, are responding to the civilization-wide cry for a higher code of ethics in the economic world. The tide of democracy which has for ages risen and ebbed, but which has with each approach come nearer and nearer the ideal of liberty, justice and fraternity, is in these closing years of our century carrying with it a power unapproached in other days, and behind it, nay, impelling it, are the intelligent and progressive instincts of civilization and the great heart-hunger of earth's millions for a higher, purer and truer life.

And now I come to speak of a few lines in this work which do not reflect the broad spirit of the volume, but which call for notice because they represent a spirit inimical to any union of the moral forces a spirit which has in all past time proved an immeasurable curse to man; a spirit which at once limits the measure of work for human brotherhood and justice, and through its exclusiveness awakens a feeling of bitterness where the broadest charity must prevail, if the new day is to dawn in the near future. The spirit of dogmatism should not be permitted to blight the people's hopes, and, therefore, whenever it appears it is the duty of all who love the race to oppose kindly but firmly that which, in its first stages, is exclusive and in the end becomes an intolerant and persecuting influence. Hence I regret to find such a passage as the following in this volume:—

The creedless Christian moralist and the Christless devotee of the creeds, are alike without the living and saving faith which is the power of genuine Christianity. We have no power to obey the Golden Rule or keep any of its commandments save as we receive that power through fellowship with Christ.

Here we see manifested a spirit foreign to that which pervades the work. It is the spirit of the dogmatist, the child of the old time, and I do not believe that it represents the thought of the author, because the general atmosphere of "The New Redemption" breathes the spirit of a religion of deeds rather than that of a creedal theology. Yet we must not forget that the great danger which a prophet soul has to contend with, is a tendency to become narrow and intolerant. Many of those who were otherwise among the noblest reformers the world has known have permitted their conceptions of the truth to blind them to the rights of those who loved humanity with as great a love as theirs—but whose conception of the truth was not the same as that advocated by the reformer. In the great battle for the realization of earth's age-long dream of human brotherhood, we must not set up any dogmatic theological beliefs. The "doing the will of the Father" must be the only demand. Anything more than this would be at once sectarian and suicidal.

It will not do to say, "We have no power to follow the Golden Rule or keep any of its commandments save as we receive that power through fellowship with Christ." For as a matter of fact, through all the ages men have taught and lived the Golden Rule. Confucius, centuries before Christ, exemplified this high ethical teaching and devoted his long, pure life to the ennobling of his people. Epictetus, the pagan philosopher, taught the noblest ethics and lived the truths he taught. Among the precepts of this great Stoic were the following:—

As a rule of practice, prescribe for yourself an ideal and then act up to it. Be mostly silent, or if you converse, do not let it be about vulgar or insignificant topics,

such as dogs, horses, racing, or prize-fighting. Avoid vulgar entertainments, impurity, display, spectacles and all egotistical remarks. Set before yourself the example of the great and the good. Do not be dazzled by mere appearances. *Do what is right, irrespective of what people say or think.*

Nothing is nobler than high-mindedness and gentleness and philanthropy and doing good. A soul that dwells with virtue is like a perennial spring, for it is pure, limpid and refreshing, inviting, serviceable, rich and uninjurious. Wish to win the suffrage of your own inward approval. Wish to appear beautiful to God. Desire to be pure with your own self and with God, and when any evil fancy assails you, rise and depart to the society of the noble and the good. Live according to their examples, whether you have such examples among the living or the dead. Go to Socrates and gaze on his utter mastery over temptation. Consider how glorious was the conscious victory over himself. *What ought not to be done do not even think.*

Innumerable other instances might be cited in confutation of Professor Herron's observation. I emphasize this thought because it is of the utmost importance that dogmatism and creedal theology, which always stir up bitterness and hate, be kept entirely out of any great progressive movement which seeks to forward a true social democracy. It is of the first importance that we remember that it is not he who says "Lord, Lord," but he that *doeth* the will of God, who may hope for divine approval. And we cannot too frequently impress upon the minds of thinking people the fact that many of the most terrible persecutions which darken the pages of human history were due solely to a sincere conviction on the part of the religious dogmatists that they were carrying out the wishes of God. On this point we should bear in mind the observation of Mr. Henry Lea:—

The cruel ferocity of barbarous zeal which, through so many centuries, wrought misery on mankind in the name of Christ, has been traced by philosophers to the doctrine of exclusive salvation, by which it seemed the duty of those in authority to coerce the recalcitrant for their own benefit, and to prevent them from leading other souls to perdition. There is no doubt that men of the kindest tempers, the profoundest intelligence, the noblest aspirations and the purest zeal for righteousness, professing a religion founded on love and Christ, were ruthless when heresy was concerned, and were ready to trample it out at any suffering.

The spirit of intolerance must be discouraged whenever it appears, and it is safe to say that unless the church is ready to work for the uplifting of humanity with all who believe in human brotherhood in such a way as to show their faith by their work, she will never draw to herself the industrial millions who have been alienated through human indifference to their cry for justice. I have dwelt on this one blemish in this otherwise noble work, not because it breathes the spirit of the volume, but because it touches upon the vitally important truth which cannot be too strongly emphasized. The moral forces can never be united into an invincible army on the noble platform of the Golden Rule, if those our author terms "creedless Christian moralists" are to be excluded. Dogmatic theology must be omitted from any successful plan for social progress.

I number among my friends many of the noblest souls I have ever met—men and women whose passion for justice is quite as great as that of Professor Herron; but they would stand outside the creed-barring implication, for some are Hebrews, some are agnostics, some are Theosophists; which all are as sincere and honest in their beliefs as is the author of "The New Redemption," and all are consumed with a great desire to further the cause of human brotherhood. Who shall presume to raise the bars of belief against those royal souls in the advance guard of civilization? On one point, the world over, the reformers must be united if plutocracy is to be supplanted by a true social democracy; and that is, that no barriers of belief shall separate those who are battling in the common cause of justice. The head of the camel of intolerance must not enter the tent of the new democracy.

The prophet is usually strenuous and intense in his devotion to what he conceives to be right. Duty is everything to him. But if there is any lesson of the past more impressive than another it is that not even the loftiest prophet soul can afford to persecute or maintain a dogmatic attitude upon questions of belief. Had Savonarola been born in Constantinople and educated under the influence of the Mohammedan faith, he would without doubt have become a zealous Mussulman. Belief is largely a question of geography and environment; not so with the great fundamental principles of ethics. And on this point I cannot do better than quote from the eminent Catholic essayist, W. S. Lilly, Esq., who in turn repeats the observation of the distinguished Catholic authority, Saurez* :—

The ethics of Christianity are not, as Mr. John Morley somewhere calls them, "a mere appendage to a set of theological mysteries." They are independent of those mysteries, and would subsist to all eternity though Christianity and all other religions were swept into oblivion. The moral law is ascertained, not from the announcements of prophets, apostles, evangelists, but from a natural and permanent revelation of the reason. "Natural reason," says Saurez, in his great treatise, *De Legibus*, "indicates what is in itself good or bad for men"; or as elsewhere in the same work he expresses it, "Natural reason indicates what is good or bad for a rational creature." The great fundamental truths of ethics are *necessary* [the italics are Mr. Lilly's], like the great fundamental truths of mathematics. They do not proceed from the arbitrary will of God. They are unchangeable, even by the fiat of the omnipotent. The moral precepts of Christianity do not derive their validity from the Christian religion. They are not a corollary from its theological creed. It is mere matter of fact, patent to every one who will look into his Bible, that Jesus Christ and His apostles left no code of ethics. The gospel and epistles do not yield even the elements of such a code. Certain it is that when, in the expanding Christian society, the need arose for an ethical synthesis, recourse was had to the inexhaustible fountains of wisdom opened by the Hellenic mind; to those

"Mellifluous streams that watered all the schools,
Of academics, old and new: with those
Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe."

The clearness, the precision of psychological analysis, which distinguish the ethics of the Catholic schools, are due more to Aristotle and Plato than to Hebrew prophets or Christian apostles.

All persons, whether Protestant, Catholic, Hebrew, Buddhist, or agnostic—I care not what be their honest religious conviction—should be welcomed into the great movement to bring about brotherhood among the children of men, and the establishment of the real kingdom of God by introducing a reign of justice and freedom.

* *Forum*.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.*

EACH of the great apostles of modern evolutionary thought occupies a position distinct and peculiar to himself both in regard to the special line of work and in relation to the strategic positions in the most noteworthy warfare waged in modern times. I have often been impressed with the remarkable distribution of talent and genius in this great intellectual struggle. Each leader of the new thought fell into his proper place as though acting under the direction of one great commanding mind in one of the most memorable struggles against almost universally accepted conceptions of the Christian world.

Charles Darwin was no fighter on the one hand, nor was his brain so organized that it could sweep the horizon of philosophic thought with Spencer's eagle vision. He was a gatherer of facts. To him the most essential thing was the accumulation of *data* by which, step by step, the candid mind would be led to conclusions as logical as they were revolutionary. He was the greatest working naturalist of our century.

Spencer championed the new theory and sought to demonstrate its verity by entirely different methods. He was unquestionably the master philosophic brain of this evolutionary conflict, and, as such, appealed to minds which easily grasped and followed the more abstract thought of purely philosophical deduction.

Alfred Russel Wallace was in many respects like Charles Darwin in that he felt the importance of accumulating evidence which would appeal to all thinking people, and from these *data* deducing logical conclusions. Hence he reinforced Darwin in this field, while spending much time in defending the breastworks from the onslaught of avowed conservatism and ancient religious thought. But Dr. Wallace was more than a collector of valuable *data* and an aggressive champion of the new thought. His mind was not content with resting on the past. The wealth of knowledge which nature yielded to man when the key to her mystery had been discovered was fully appreciated by him. He read the story of evolution written in stone, and appreciated how geology had preserved a marvellous record of divine truth. In the many weary years he spent in the Malay Archipelago, he had been able to study tropical life and accumulate facts of great value as confirmatory evidence. He appreciated the immense significance of nature's testimony in the

* "Collected Essays of Professor Huxley. I. Method and Results. II. Darwiniana. III. Science and Education. IV. Science and Hebrew Tradition." Cloth; per volume \$1.25 (uniform). Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

likeness to different forms of life which the embryonic human life passed through before the child entered the world. In fact, he not only assisted materially in collecting *data* of positive value, but he also appreciated, with the delight of an apostle of truth, every confirmation which his brother laborers brought from various highways of research. And above and beyond the unfolding of the vast continent of knowledge, the mind of Dr. Wallace penetrated. He appreciated that in man there was more than the mechanical development of physical life. He caught glimpses of the truths which the new psychology is now demonstrating, and beheld in these the prophecy of a still more glorious day for humanity.

The tendency of the evolutionary school was materialistic in essence. Its lofty assumption of humility in the term agnosticism frequently carried much more than the implied confession of ignorance. The spirit evinced by too many of its apostles justified the suspicion that the eminent agnostic might have framed his confession somewhat after this fashion without doing violence to his private convictions, "I do not know, therefore it is unknowable." Dr. Wallace, however, in this respect was more truly scientific than any of his co-laborers and Professor Huxley was probably the most unscientific of all. Had he the open mind and deep spirituality of Dr. Wallace, if he were broader and freer from prejudice, if he were less dogmatic and not so much a partisan, his essays would be of inestimable value to all thoughtful men. But owing to these serious shortcomings, it is well to bear in mind his mental limitation, and to weigh with care the conclusions of this brilliant and robust champion of modern scientific and educational progress.

He who will keep these points in view, will find the collected essays of Professor Huxley invaluable both as a source of general information, and as enabling him to gain a clear conception of the great problems which have made the past fifty years in many respects the most memorable in the history of intellectual development known to man.

The series of collected essays, which when complete, will consist of nine volumes, will be an important addition to the scientific and educational literature of our day. They place in permanent form and convenient size a vast amount of material which will prove indispensable to the general reader, whose time necessitates his limiting his researches to condensed presentation and discussions which epitomize thought contained in many bulky volumes. Of the series four volumes have,

thus far, been issued. The first, which is entitled "Method

METHOD and Results," contains a charming autobiography and essays dealing with "The Advisableness of Improving Natural
AND Knowledge," "The Progress of Science," "The Physical
RESULTS. Basis of Life," "Descartes," "Discussions Touching the
Methods of Seeking Scientific Truth," "The Hypothesis that Animals are Automata and its History," "Administrative Nihilism," "The

Natural Inequality of Men," "Natural Rights and Political Rights," "Government."

The second volume discusses evolution, and in it Mr. Huxley points out with perfect candor the weak points in the theory which he defends.

This volume is exceedingly valuable, not only as giving DARWINIANA. a splendid statement, *pro* and *con*, of Darwin's theory of evolution, but also on account of the pages devoted to the life of the great scientist. Several chapters relate to evolution as presented by Mr. Darwin and are entitled "The Darwin Hypothesis," "The Origin of Species," "Criticism on Origin of Species," "The Genealogy of Animals," "Mr. Darwin's Critics," "Evolution in Biology," and "The Coming Age of the Origin of Species." Three chapters of this work are devoted to "Charles Darwin," "The Darwin Memorial," and "Obituary of Mr. Darwin," while the last one hundred seventy-five pages contain Professor Huxley's six lectures to working men on "Our Knowledge of the Causes of Phenomena or Organic Nature."

The third volume deals chiefly with educational and scientific subjects.

The opening chapters discuss the life and work of Joseph SCIENCE Priestley in a clear and instructive manner. It is an essay AND of special value. Among the more important of the other EDUCATION. sixteen chapters in this work I would mention, "A Liberal Education, and Where to Find It," "Science and Culture," "Technical Education," "The State and the Medical Profession." This last is an exceedingly valuable chapter. In it Professor Huxley observes:—

The first question which a plain man is disposed to ask himself is, Why should the state interfere with the profession of medicine any more than it does, say, with the profession of engineering? Anybody who pleases may call himself an engineer, and may practise as such. The state confers no title upon engineers, and does not profess to tell the public that one man is a qualified engineer and that another is not so.

The answers which are given to the question are various, and most of them, I think, are bad. A large number of persons seem to be of opinion that the state is bound no less to take care of the general public, than to see that it is protected against incompetent persons, against quacks and medical impostors in general. I do not take that view of the case. I think it is very much wholesomer for the public to take care of itself, in this as in all other matters. I am perfectly certain that, as a matter of practice, it is absolutely impossible to prohibit the practice of medicine by people who have no special qualification for it. Consider the terrible consequences of attempting to prohibit practice by a very large class of persons who are certainly not technically qualified—I am far from saying a word as to whether they are otherwise qualified or not.

Another reason for intervention is propounded. The general practitioner trying to make both ends meet on a poor practice, whose medical training has cost him a good deal of time and money, finds that many potential patients, whose small fees would be welcome as the little that helps, prefer to go and get their shilling's worth of "doctor's stuff" and advice from the druggist and chemist round the corner, who has not paid sixpence for his medical training, because he has never had any. The general practitioner thinks this is very hard upon him and ought to be stopped. It is perhaps natural that he should think so, though it would be very difficult for him to justify his opinion on any ground of public policy.

Is a man who has a sudden attack of pain in tooth or stomach not to be permitted to go to the nearest druggist's shop and ask for something that will relieve him? The notion is preposterous. But if this is to be legal, the whole principle of the permissibility of counter practice is granted.

In my judgment the intervention of the state in the affairs of the medical profession cannot be justified upon any pretence of protecting the public, and still less upon that of protecting the medical profession.

"Science and Hebrew Tradition," as the title indicates, contains a number of Professor Huxley's most notable assaults on conservative and dogmatic theological conceptions. Probably the most noteworthy chapters are "The Interpretations of Genesis," "The Interpretations of Nature," "Mr. Gladstone and Genesis," "The Light of the Church and the Light of Science and the Evolution of Theology." The wide area of thought compassed by Professor Huxley in these essays will be evident from the titles given. His writings are always readable, although they frequently arouse antagonism. These volumes are important additions to the scientific literature of our time.

B. O. FLOWER.

AN AIM IN LIFE.*

A noble work for young men and women has recently appeared from the pen of Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D. D., a leading Congregational minister of this community, and a man who is profoundly interested in the progress of humanity. This work is written with a view to placing high ideals before the young. In a simple and straightforward manner Dr. Moxom discusses The Aim of Life, Character, Habit, Companionship, Temperance, Debt, The True Aristocracy, Education, Charity, The Ethics of Amusement, Reading, and Orthodoxy. The chapters on "The True Aristocracy" and "Education" are particularly fine. Here are a few lines from the last-mentioned chapter:—

You see, then, how large is the true idea of education. Get rid of the notion, if you have it, that education is identical with knowledge of books. Books, good books, are of immense value; they are important means of education. But education is the unfolding of our entire nature—of mind, heart, conscience and will—into strength, efficiency, and beauty. It is not what you have that determines whether or not you are educated, but what you are.

The above extract will give a fair idea of the broad, invigorating spirit of this work. The author is an orthodox divine, but he belongs to the broad school of Christian theology of which Phillips Brooks and Henry Ward Beecher were excellent representatives. And the healthy, manly, earnest, and humanitarian spirit which characterizes "The Aim in Life" cannot fail to exert a most beneficial and elevating influence on all who read it.

B. O. FLOWER.

* "An Aim in Life," by Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D. D. Cloth; price \$1, Roberts Brothers, Boston, Mass.

THE FORTUNES OF MARGARET WELD.*

Duality exists throughout all nature. A man alone is only half a man; the man and woman make the perfect whole. There is the male man and the female man. Only where these two half spirits work together can they reach perfection. For every woman there is somewhere on the earth or in the spirit realm a mate, for every man there is his other half; and sometime, in this life or in another, they will meet. When the right man meets the right woman and they live rightly, there is an atmosphere formed where no poisonous draught can enter. The lives of these two must say, "*Between us there must be honesty and truth forevermore.*" Then each will work for the other. There will be no flattery, for there is honesty; there will be commendation always when deserved, and thus the good will grow through recognition. Neither will excel the other; each may be able to do certain things better than the other, so there will ever be a friendly rivalry for good. The tendency to egotism is ever corrected, the poison is constantly neutralized; for how can you be egotistical when you only work for the approbation of one who has contributed to your work as much as you? There is ever a sharing of joy, of every exalted thought, of every acquisition; so the good gained is fused. There is a perfect commingling. It is not "mine" nor "thine" but "ours." No selfish satisfaction can you take in your own attainment when by your side stands another as great as yourself. You are gentle, modest, and you two working together cannot but recognize a higher power, a greater than you, a Source you look up to; and ever do you say, "Not unto us, not unto us." Thus is growth attained, and thus only can perfection be reached.

The real essence of sex is spiritual; and as behind every physical fact there is a spiritual truth, so above and beyond this sexual instinct, is the divinest gift given to man. In the encyclopædias we read that this inclination "has its purpose in reproduction of the species." And is nature after all but a trickster, a practical joker? Is this fair dream of holy peace and joy — of being at last understood by a some one, loving, gentle, tender, true, in whose presence one may think aloud and be at rest — is this, after all, but a scheme for the reproduction of our kind?

For the misuse of God's more sacred gift the man and woman were put out of Eden; they have wandered far. The return will be slow; it must be by the way they came, and together, hand in hand. There is no other way; the monastery is as bad a failure as the house of Camille. Only by a knowledge of the right relation of men and women can we gain heaven.

Since Homer sang of the love of Helen and Paris, down to our busy day of money-getting, all works of art and beauty have had their rise in this, the loves of men and women. The art impulse, the sense of sublimity, the religious instinct, only flourish where the sex nature supplies

* "The Fortunes of Margaret Weld," by Mrs. S. M. H. Gardner. Pp. 300; price, paper 50 cents, cloth \$1.25. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

a soil. All products of the imagination, whether expressed by tongue, pen, brush, or chisel, have as their subject or inspiration the reaching out of soul to soul. Love is creative; more, love is *creation*. Love sings all songs, writes all poems, carves all the wondrous works of speaking marble, paints all the canvases that adorn the walls where color revels. Aye! and it is the subject of the blackest tragedies that haunt our dreams. Love misplaced, thwarted, ill-used, brings about more heart-pangs, misery, sickness, sorrow, disease, death, than all other causes combined. They reckon ill who leave love out.

The motif of "The Fortunes of Margaret Weld" is the relationship of men and women, and I do not remember another work of fiction that suggests as much food for thought along these lines. The work is deft and delicate throughout; yet withal there is a keenness of perception in it that transcends the words. The reader says, "Surely here is an author who, knowing the wrongs of life, yet has only kindly, hearty, loving sympathy for all those who grope and stumble through this earth pilgrimage."

The heroine is no Juliet just turning into womanhood, living under a southern sky, filled with strange unrest; but she is shown to us as a mature woman of twenty-eight, of ardent intellect, sensitive to all that is best, firm in will, discriminating, strong. What she does she does.

The underlying thought of the book is a protest against a double moral standard. Sin is sin, and men and women suffer the same natural penalty when righteous law is transgressed.

Margaret Weld has been left with no early guide toward right living save her own keen intelligence. She reads clearly the fact that the ill-mated, bound by the marriage tie, tolerate the bond to the destruction of lofty ideals; and she learns to despise the sanction of the church. At twenty-eight, having lost her faith in mankind through a belief that her fortune alone has won their devotion, she exhausts her financial resources in securing the good name of an adopted father, and, penniless, begins to battle for bread on the mistaken basis of entire withdrawal from the few who love her.

This struggle has the ordinary outcome. A frail, refined woman, warring with the world for a right to live, falls victim to her circumstances and false reasoning. She accepts the proposal of a well-known professor to go abroad with him and take part in the preparation of a learned work, in which she is much interested. She has no idea of concealing their relation—no wish to sin. It is to her mind simply making the best of untoward fate: no worse, a little better, than a loveless marriage. But life is not, even thus, bereft of care. Margaret's companion, with all his intense admiration for the woman, is too selfishly conscious of his advantage in the compact, and as soon as he has reaped the benefit of her clear thought, deserts her. She struggles to fit herself for return to her native land as an artist, and, full of contempt for

the professor who did not fail to remind her that society stood ready to receive him again, while her own good name was gone forever, she bravely faces her fate a second time.

Illness, despair, settle upon her. She faints on the chill step of a reformatory, where a young Quaker finds her, and through the aid — spiritual and material — of this man and his saintly mother, she at last rises above her awful misery, only to know that a new trial is in store for her. The way of the transgressor is hard, and Margaret finds that the thought of love, which might once have brought her infinite gladness, is now coupled with distress. She has thrown away her capacity to love.

Meanwhile the professor, having received the applause of the literary world, is appealed to for a continuance of his labors. Alas; not alone the stimulus of the woman's presence, but her very important aid is wanting. He searches for her, believing she will at once return to his open arms. In vain are his strivings, and at the time when peace has settled upon Margaret's life, the man perishes by his own hand.

Through every detail of the story, the lesson of right living is taught — the unvarying fulfilment of moral law, wherever or by whomsoever transgressed; and in the simple and natural life of the Quaker household is given an example of real religion that warms the heart. "The Fortunes of Margaret Weld" is a book that will live.

ELBERT HUBBARD.

A CHORUS OF FAITHS.*

This little book is a compilation, but one in which so much discrimination is evidenced and so many side lights are thrown on the main question, that it is an inspiration from beginning to end. It is, as the compiler says, a book "with a purpose," and a most worthy one — that of establishing a recognition of the unity of all religions. It is a gathering up of the fragments that were left, after the great Parliament of Religions, the crowning event of the centuries, which took place in connection with the World's Fair in Chicago. "Not revolution, but evolution" is the hopeful possibility from Mr. Jones' point of view. He says:—

Existing churches will remain, but their emphasis will be changed more and more from dogma to creed, from profession to practice. From out their creed-bound walls will come an ever-increasing throng, upon whose brows will rest the radiance of the sunrise; whose hearts will glow with the fervid heat of the Orient, intensified with the scientific convictions of the Occident. These people will demand a church that will be as inclusive in its spirit as the Parliament. The Parliament will teach people that there is a universal religion. This must have its teachers and it will have its churches. This universal religion is not made of the shreds and tatters of other religions. It is not a patchwork of pieces cut out of other faiths, but it is founded on those things which all religions hold in common, the hunger of the heart for comradeship, the thirst of the mind for truth, the passion of the soul for usefulness. In

* "A Chorus of Faiths," by Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Cloth; pp. 334; price \$1.25. Unity Publishing Company, Chicago.

morality the voices of the prophets blend, and the chorus is to become audible throughout the world. In ethics all religions meet. Gentleness is everywhere and always a gospel. Character is always revelation. All writings that make for it are Scripture.

Thus in this "Chorus of Faiths" we have a new scripture. What more helpful in the building of character than a record of the noble sayings at that first meeting of the fraternity of religions? Into the world's magnificent thought treasury is now poured the very cream of religious utterance, which, notwithstanding different races, colors, costumes, characteristics, education, languages, still insists that the one law is love, the one service loving. All light comes from one source. All rays converge to one centre. The one centre is found at the Parliament, and that centre is photographed, as it were, in the "Chorus of Faiths."

From first to last Mr. Jones has dwelt upon statements that stand for unity, has chosen those eloquent and heartfelt representative addresses that most clearly demonstrate the feeling of brotherhood. Even in the arrangement and classification of topics he has shown a rare discriminative faculty, and a loving desire to hold up the finely woven and most perfect pattern of human ideals. After the purposeful introduction, and the words of greeting given by different delegates from home and foreign lands, we find the record proceeding under such significant headings as Harmony of the Prophets, Holy Bibles, Unity in Ethics, Brotherhood, The Soul, The Thought of God, The Crowning Day, Farewell, and Appendix. Under each of these topics is grouped the corresponding views of the different religions, and the thread of unity is most vividly maintained and easily discerned. In the grand "Chorus" there is no discord. Every voice strikes the keynote, and an outburst of harmony is the result.

To the one who thinks, speaks, and lives for Unity, this task of bringing out the unity of revelation, of purpose, of aspiration, of faith, of accomplishment, has evidently been but a delightful privilege, which may be appreciated, if not shared, by those who read the book. As a literary production, the "Chorus of Faiths" is a clean-cut cameo profile of the Parliament of Religions.

In conclusion, in the words of a thoughtful and earnest woman: "The keynote of the Parliament in Chicago was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. We predict that the keynote of the next Parliament will be the Motherhood of God and the Womanhood of man."

HELEN VAN-ANDERSON.

THE BLOSSOM OF THE CENTURY.*

The spiritual life is supposed by most people to be wrapped in impenetrable mystery, though in certain moments every individual has had glimpses of its glory. Socrates, Plato, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius,

* "The Blossom of the Century," by Helen Wilmans. Cloth; pp. 164; price \$1. Published by Helen Wilmans, 389 Blue Hill Avenue, Boston, Mass.

St. Paul, Shelley, Emerson, and other profound minds tell us of those sublime "periods of renunciation" when, emptied of self, the soul expands and draws one upward until he seems to tread on air, and not upon the ground beneath his feet.

Those who believe with Browning that the most important study in life is "the development of a soul" will welcome and willingly analyze, though they may not indorse, all the opinions of those who wish to cast new light on the realm partly open to the inner vision. To aid in this illumination is the high aim of Mrs. Wilmans, who in this work offers to us the fruit of years of introspective study and experience. She says: "I have held to it simply because it has held to me, and out of my own organism has been unfolded the course of reasoning by which I have demonstrated its truth to myself." The work is destructive and reconstructive. Many new and startling ideas are advanced especially as pertaining to the law of gravitation and death. That same strong individuality which characterizes her personality is manifested in her book, and the latter distinctly bears the stamp of the logical mind of the author; hence her thought ever stimulates and quickens the reasoning faculties of others. Many will agree with her that in this age "the entire trend of thought is from the physical to the metaphysical"; though she cannot be classed with Bishop George Berkeley and many Christian scientists who would convince us "that there is no such thing as a material external world." Mrs. Wilmans disclaims the assertion of modern scientists that all matter is dead, but affirms that every atom is *unconsciously* and *consciously* alive; holding in harmony with Emerson that there is One Over-soul, One Universal God-substance, one Mind, and that each thing, including man, that goes to make up the universe is but a different expression of this One Mind. This Eternal Energy she designates in various terms as the Universal Law of Attraction, Law of Being, Principle of Life, Love, etc.; a force which is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent; and hence, since it fills all space, "In God we live, move, and have our being," and man is not (as he has so long felt) divorced from God. The author believes with the poet Pope that

The universe is one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul.

The following embodies the writer's definition of metaphysics:—

But the fact is this whole movement is called Mental Science because it has demonstrated by incontrovertible argument that the physical (matter) is *already* mind; already a purely mental substance. That is to say, every atom in the universe, instead of being dead or immovable stuff that must be acted upon by some living or vital power called mind or spirit, is, *in itself and of itself the living or vital power which we call mind or spirit*. It is not dead—there is no deadness possible in the universe. The dearest thing on earth to-day—namely, the bar of iron with which the laborer is digging postholes—will become the highest of all organized substances in an incredibly short time by changing the arrangement of its component parts. Its present apparently lifeless organization may be broken up rapidly by simply leaving it in the field—where it was in use—a few years. It would be dissolved and much of its sub-

stance would have passed into the vegetation lying around it. And this vegetation, passing into forms of higher organization, would soon be expressed from the brain of man in the form of thought. The one hard point for the student to comprehend is that mind or spirit alone exists, and that it exists as substance. "Why," says the student, "substance is something that can be seen and handled, and how can it be mind or spirit? Surely mind or spirit is the invisible moving power that exists in substance and operates upon it."

And is the tree a spirit? Certainly it is; and so is the stone—everything is spirit or mind. It is the recognition of something, or it could not be manifest at all. And that which recognizes is mind. It is the recognition of the infinite infusing principle called the Law of Attraction. The clod recognizes the Law so faintly and so feebly as to approach a condition called deadness; but the Law does infuse it. In the course of time its recognition of the Law will be more positive than it now is, and when this time comes it will show forth more vitality than at present. It will have climbed the scale of being to a higher form of life; that is, it will have recognized greater vital power, and will therefore express greater vital power in its personality.

Mrs. Wilmans follows out the path of her reasoning, educing from her hypothesis the claim that progressive longevity is possible to humanity. She observes:—

Intellectual growth is the constant replacement of a low grade of thought by a higher grade of thought; it is the constant acquisition of new truth. New truth relegates to the past every particle of old truth, which in the light of the new truth has become error and therefore useless. Every atom of this truth, new and old, is *substance*—the identical material our bodies and everything else we can see are made of—and it changes constantly. If we keep on learning new truth, the substance of our bodies *refines*, grows stronger and more beautiful. . . . Man has no fetters but those of his own ignorance, and nothing but intelligence will liberate him from such fetters. And what but these—old age, feebleness, and the grave—are our real fetters? I do not believe that true, healthy growth can proceed through the torturous weaknesses of old age and decrepitude.

It seems reasonable to suppose, as regards disease, that there should be no necessity for premature death, when we consider the number of cures that are constantly being made through the mental method of healing. The fact suggests the possibility of prolonging life in this earth school until we profit by its special lessons and discipline, which we believe to be essential to the highest soul growth; in the end to emerge normally from the body as a butterfly from a chrysalis. No one has completely tested this metaphysical or spiritual force. It seems illimitable when we consider that it can control the senses and both cure and kill. All physicians acknowledge that the mind if disquieted by excessive fear or grief may produce in the patient a condition of ill-health.

Hypnotism, long reviled, is now an accepted truth. The notable philosopher Schopenhauer avows that the man who has doubt of the existence of the faculty of clairvoyance does not show himself a bigot, but simply reveals the fact that he is ignorant. Thus all new truth must pass through an inquisition. Telepathy, once ignored, but now acknowledged, reveals indeed the truth "that we ourselves are wonder-worlds but partially explored." It has been demonstrated that if mental and physical conditions remain undisturbed, thought when strongly sent out by individual to individual (they being spiritually *en rapport*),

whether across sea or continent, projects a personality as perceptible to each as the physical body is visible to the eyesight. Yet the body may be forgotten to the extent that it might indeed be dead.

Mrs. Wilmans believes "that our thought may take shapes, under certain conditions, and become objective." To us it seems possible that thought may in all probability travel in vibratory waves, hence it would not seem unreasonable to conceive that a crystallization of these waves, sent out by exercise of the mind, should shape itself into objectivity, as we know that light and sound each are produced by a certain number of vibrations in a second. These crystallized thought forms may possibly be given, as object lessons are given to a child, to demonstrate the marvellous creative power of thought inherent in humanity. When we more perfectly understand and rightly use this gift we can then say truly, with Saint John, "Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be."

This tangibility of thought illustrates the deep meaning of those oft-quoted words, "As a man thinketh so is he." It is the interior thought, lived, manifested, that constitutes personality, character, identity, mind, spirit, soul — all of which are synonymous terms. Therefore it appears that with the comprehension and practical application of this power, comes the knowledge that the physical body, as a *means of identity*, will be wholly non-essential, in this world or any other sphere. This fact should banish all fear of that loss of individuality after death as taught in the secret doctrine of the Brahmins. He would be a selfish God indeed who, Saturn-like, should devour his own children. "The finite and the infinite coexist in this world, and this of itself is proof that they may coexist in the next world and forever." It is also true that humanity is capable of immortality in its ability to consciously dream of an ideal, to hunger for happiness, to enjoy, suffer, and love divinely. "There is an undefinable something in man that lives more by feeling than seeing," and we realize within that "We are adapted to infinity; we are hard to please, and love nothing which ends."

As regards identity Frances Willard has bidden us to "Never forget that the only indestructible material in destiny's fierce crucible is *character*. Beauty, money, and fame cannot be carried beyond the horizon line that shuts around this cradle of a world; but love, joy, peace, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, are jewels which by their very nature will survive the transit to the world invisible."

Sir Walter Raleigh observes: "What a great power is the power of thought! And what a grand being is man when he uses it aright; because, after all, it is the use made of it that is the important thing. Character comes out of thought. 'As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.'" Mrs. Wilmans says: —

While generation proceeds in one unbroken stream on the unconscious plane of life, regeneration is not possible except upon the conscious plane; a plane that the race is now on the verge of reaching. . . . *Every visible manifestation of life, mineral, plant, and animal, is self-created.*

Man is beginning to outgrow animality, and can now say "*I am*," and is by every belief that he holds creating *himself*, using the physical as an instrument to aid him in fashioning an immortal masterpiece. (It is our beliefs which mold us as the potter molds the clay.) Mrs. Wilmans tells us:—

Man is an ever-growing desire; approximating, in his growth, more and more closely to a comprehension of the power of Law. . . . Belief is the clothing power of which desire is the spirit or soul. Desire points always in one direction, the direction of happiness. Experience shall teach him that his highest happiness hangs on the great moral law laid down by Jesus, "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

HATTIE C. FLOWER.

AN APOCALYPSE OF LIFE.

In originality of design and construction, profound depth of thought, beauty of language, elegance of style and diction, pure expression of fine sentiment, and exalted conception, there has rarely appeared a book which equals "*An Apocalypse of Life*." It abounds in sparkling thoughts and original conceptions, and from the opening chapter to the close its pages are replete with splendid imagery.

The book, as its name indicates, is a revelation of life; not the life which we know and experience, but of that higher life in which a soul freed from the shackles of earth awakens in a celestial sphere of surpassing beauty and dazzling brightness, a realm of light and life, an abode of happiness in which the redeemed spirit rejoices in the blessedness of communion with glorified souls, some of whom had ascended from earth, while some were heavenly visitors from other celestial spheres.

The style adopted by the author is colloquial, and though scarcely narrative, introduces for the purpose of dialogue such celestial characters as the majestic Ariel, the Apollo-like Ristas, the stately Meoon and the hazel-eyed Clarese from the sphere of love. At the first glance there seems to be in the divine nature of the angelic Clarese the shadow of something which would tend to make her a "little lower than the angels"; for her communion with the spiritual Ristas and the unfettered soul of Assurance suggests a knowledge of the arts of coquetry not unworthy of the daughters of earth. But when the beauteous Ristas told her of his love the truth of her divine nature asserted itself by a candid confession of her preference for Assurance, fresh from earth, and when he, with a conceit which must have pertained to his earthly nature, made known that he could not accept her as his divine affinity, but must remain true to his earthly love, and patiently await her coming, she became the embodiment of all the graces, the lovely impersonation of Faith, Hope, and Charity, as she sweetly offered to wait with him, and asked him to accompany her to her blissful home in the Pleiades.

Assurance assenting, hither they sped, wafted onward by balmy breezes, through illimitable space, past shining stars and radiant

spheres, over vast mountains, through measureless void, above worlds, planets, constellations, and systems, pausing enraptured to hearken to the divine strains of the "harmony of the spheres," and, passing through the hallowed shades of Orion, alighted on the enchanting home of Claresse to rest within the "sweet influences of the Pleiades." But this did not please Ristas, whose jealous love for Claresse had so dimmed the brightness of his glory that he "appeared less than an archangel ruined," and in his darkening soul, in which evil had already entered, conceived a plan for their destruction, and drove them by the influence of his will to the realm of Plutone, the abode of evil.

As the book progresses it dives deeply into scientific and philosophic research. It touches on the philosophy of Plato, hints at the ideal theories of Descartes and his contemporaries, glances at the doctrine of chance, notices in passing the inductive philosophy of Bacon, and following in the wake of metaphysics, goes on to the materialism of the nineteenth century, and pays tribute to Herbert Spencer. It points out the weaknesses in the Darwinian doctrine of evolution, traces in a masterly manner the development of human character, explains the mysterious relation between mind and matter, and argues the spirit to be the true man, and the soul to be immortal.

The interested attention of the reader grows as the book proceeds and culminates upon the appearance of Christ. This subject is touched by the author with due respect, and handled with reverence. His discourse in the temple is founded upon various texts in the holy Scriptures, and is an elucidation of His life and mission on earth. The last lesson to be learned from these pictured pages is the "lesson of life," in which the soul is thought to smile superior to sin and evil, and to "rise forever above them." There is something in the work before us which indicates in the author very considerable talent; this is demonstrated in this his first work, and doubtless his further writings will reinforce the proof, while added maturity will enhance its charms. An admiring public awaits with interest the appearance of another book from his gifted pen.

C. ROWELL.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"THE ORTHOEPIST," by Alfred Ayers. Cloth; pp. 292. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"SCIENCE AND HEBREW TRADITION," by Thomas H. Huxley. Cloth; pp. 372; price \$1.25. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"A HISTORY OF GERMANY," by Bayard Taylor. Cloth; pp. 461; price \$1.50. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION," volumes 1 and 2. Published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"A TIMELY WARNING," by an Americap. Paper; pp. 192; price 25 cents. Published by the Daylight Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Penn.

"COMPENDIUM OF TRANSPORTATION THEORIES": A Compilation of Essays upon Transportation Subjects by Eminent Experts. Prepared by C. C. McCain. Cloth; pp. 300; price \$2. Published by the Kensington Publishing Company, Washington, D. C.

"HIS LOVE FOR HELEN," by J. B. H. Janeway. Paper; pp. 314; price 50 cents. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"LABOR AND POPULAR WELFARE," by W. H. Mallock. Cloth; pp. 336; price \$2. Published by Adam & Charles Black, London, Eng.

"A CYNIC'S SACRIFICE," by Lewis Vital Bogy. Paper; pp. 310. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"THE CLOUD ON THE HEART," by A. S. Roe. Paper; pp. 315; price 25 cents. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"MY LITTLE LOVE," by Marion Harland. Paper; pp. 396; price 25 cents. Published by G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

"THE ROUSING OF MRS. POTTER AND OTHER STORIES," by Gertrude Smith. Cloth; pp. 232. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass.

"BENEATH THE DOME," by Arnold Clark. Cloth; pp. 361; price \$1.25. Published by the Schulte Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.

"THE PHYSICIAN'S WIFE," by Ellen M. Firebaugh. Cloth; pp. 186; price \$1.25. Published by F. A. Davis & Co., Philadelphia, Penn.

"THE LYCEUM GUIDE," Compiled for the use of Progressive Lyceums and Societies, by Emma Rood Tuttle. Published by Hudson Tuttle & Co., Chicago, Ill.

"RELIGION," by G. De Molinari. Cloth; pp. 200; price 90 cents. Published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, and Macmillan & Co., New York.

"THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATURAL LAW," by Henry Wood. Cloth; pp. 395. Published by Lee & Shepard, Publishers, 10 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.

"TRAFFIC IN GIRLS, AND FLORENCE CRITTENTON MISSION," by Charlton Edholm. Cloth; pp. 307. Published by the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, The Temple, Chicago, Ill.

"THE DOGS AND THE FLEAS," by One of the Dogs. Cloth; pp. 273. Published by Douglas McCallum, 90 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

"ALASKANA, OR ALASKA IN DESCRIPTIVE AND LEGENDARY POEMS," by Bushrod W. James, A. M., M. D. Cloth; pp. 402. Published by Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, Penn.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

OFFICERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:—

PHILIP S. MOXOM, D. D., *Chairman.*

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OFFICE OF THE COMMITTEE, Room 17, Pierce Building, Boston, Mass.

"The Union for Practical Progress knows no creed, sect, nationality, or sex. It welcomes as members ALL who desire to help redress this world and make it the happy home of a noble humanity."

DIRECTORY OF LOCAL UNIONS.

BOSTON, MASS.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Professor Thomas E. Will, Secretary, 78 Glendale St., Dorchester, Boston, Mass.

BALTIMORE, MD.

UNION FOR PUBLIC GOOD. Charles J. Bonaparte, president; Rev. Hiram Vrooman, secretary, 307 E. Biddle St.; Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber, corresponding secretary.

ARENA CLUB AUXILIARY. Meets every Saturday night in the First Congregational church. Rev. Hiram Vrooman, chairman; Charles H. Torsch, treasurer; Mrs. L. Thompson, secretary, 2329 N. Calvert St.

PROGRESS CLUB. Open discussions every Sunday at 4 P. M. in Baer's Hall, Fort Ave. and Light St. Daniel T. Orem, president; Mrs. Margaret Quarles, Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Meets the first Monday of every month at College Settlement, 617 St. Mary St. Miss K. B. Davis, president; Dr. M. V. Ball, treasurer, physician to Eastern Penitentiary; Miss Diana Hirschler, secretary, 2026 Camac St.

YOUNG WOMEN'S ARENA CLUB. Meets every Wednesday evening at 230 Pine St. Miss Diana Hirschler, president; Miss Kathryn Goldsmith, treasurer, 2426 Lombard St.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS, Germantown. M. C. Gay, secretary.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS, Somerton. Rev. A. H. Shaw, secretary.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE CIVIC CENTRE. Mrs. Anna L. Woodbury, chairman; Miss Catherine Hosmer, recording secretary; A. L. Diggs, corresponding secretary, 107 Eighth St., N. E.

SOCIOLOGICAL BRANCH. Meets every Wednesday evening at 1127 Eleventh St., N. W. Mrs. Alexander Kent, secretary, 330 O St., N. W.

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Miss Ella Levin, secretary, 10 E. 33d St.

EGG HARBOR CITY, N. J.

VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY. Miss Annie Meyer, secretary.

EAST MILTON, MASS.

UNION FOR CONCERTED MORAL EFFORT. Miss Orissa Baxter, secretary.

CINCINNATI, O.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. M. McClellan Brown, secretary, 106 Richmond St.

LINKWOOD, DORCHESTER CO., MD.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Robert Gulick, secretary.

GREEN COVE SPRINGS, FLA.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. P. A. Borden, secretary, Hotel St. Elmo.

CULPEPER, VA.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Mrs. Orta Langhorne, secretary.

LEXINGTON, KY.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Miss Laura Clay, secretary, 78 North Broadway.

SALINA, KAN.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Laura M. Johns, secretary.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS. Dr. J. W. Babcock, president; E. E. Jockin, treasurer; Mrs. E. W. Screves, secretary.

GENERAL NEWS NOTES.

The National Union for Practical Progress has appealed, through its local unions, to all clergymen, rabbis, and speakers interested in the cause of humanity, to speak from the pulpit or platform on the second Sunday in April on the "Tenement-house Evil in our Great Cities." On the second Sunday in May they will be asked to discuss "The Best Methods of Treating the Saloon Evil." The second Sunday in June they will be urged to preach on the "Evils of Child Labor." Clergymen and workers for progress, where no unions are organized, are also urged to speak on the above dates upon these great problems. A bibliography of tenement-house literature will be found in this issue, which, with the symposium on this subject, will aid those who will speak on this great evil.

The work of consolidating the moral forces is progressing in a magnificent manner. No one can conceive the amount of vital seed which is being scattered in the centres recently formed. Heretofore, the cities have been the prey of demagogues and the scene of fashionable strife. The Union is bound to bring the best and most sincere workers together in great, earnest fraternities which will be ready to act in concert for progress, justice, and reform. Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston, and New York have well-organized centres, while in smaller places the glorious work has been inaugurated. Mr. Vrooman is, at this writing, in Florida inaugurating the work in the Land of Oranges.

The National Committee welcomes correspondence, and urges all who are interested in the work to write headquarters. The committee has just issued a pamphlet containing a Model Constitution, a Serious Word to Earnest Men and Women, and the admirable paper by Rev. Walter Vrooman in the March ARENA, entitled "First Steps in the Union of Reform Forces." This pamphlet is sold at five cents a copy, or fifty cents a dozen. Send for one copy, or better still, send for twelve copies and give them to your friends. It is the duty of every man and woman of the new time to aid this movement for a higher civilization, a happier life, a nobler humanity. Work now. To-day is given you in which to sow seeds which will carpet our sad world with gladness.

We are in receipt of a very interesting letter from Mr. George A. Howells, Secretary of the Social Problems Association of Toronto. This body is working substantially on the lines of the National Union for Practical Progress, as will be seen from the following statement of the objects of the Canadian Union:—

This association has been formed for the purpose of uniting in educational and practical efforts all those who earnestly desire the improvement of the social and moral condition of humanity.

The educational work will consist of public meetings, lectures, and conferences whenever possible, deputations to associated organizations as opportunity offers, and the collection of information as to how the evils which here confront us are met and overcome elsewhere. As part of the practical work, continued and systematic efforts will be made to obtain definite information as to the existing state of affairs in the social and moral world in Toronto, and thus enable us to see what disabilities we labor under.

This will place us in a position to intelligently study methods and devise plans for the removal of the evils which are obstacles in the way of men and women living good and useful lives.

Evil conditions, unjust laws, immoral and unhealthy surroundings, are not easily removed; nor are questions such as The Employment of the Unemployed, The Liquor Traffic, or The Social Evil, to be dealt with, without united and persistent effort. It will be our endeavor to adopt the most successful methods of moral and social reform, and we shall resort to all right and lawful means to remove existing evils, to improve the condition of society, and to elevate mankind. With the hearty coöperation of all the churches of various denominations, all the charitable and labor organizations, and all other societies existing for the purpose of social and moral reform, the Social Problems Association believe that much can be accomplished, which is now left undone because efforts are desultory and sometimes conflicting.

Since our last issue a vigorous and determined Union for Practical Progress has been organized in Columbia, S. C. A new centre has been established in Germantown. Work is being steadily pushed in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston; while from various parts of the country come letters of inquiry relating to the union of the moral forces.

Push the work! Push it now. If the cause of pure government is to prevail, if the industrial millions are to enjoy what they earn, if a nobler civilization is to supplant the reign of conscienceless greed, every man, woman, and child who loves liberty, justice, and progress must be up and doing.

"I will gladly preach on the evils of the sweating system on the second Sunday in March as you suggest," writes Rev. E. W. Darst, pastor of the South End Tabernacle, Boston, Mass. This is only one voice among many which will on the second Sunday in March discuss this crying shame of our present civilization. Still more voices will cry aloud against the horrors of the tenement houses in the slums of our cities, on the second Sunday in April. These are only two of the cancer spots in our modern city life. Other giant evils will be discussed in succession. A great moral agitation is about to commence in America which, unless the present signs fail, will eclipse the great social revival in England when the league overthrew the iniquitous corn laws.

The Boston branch of the Union for Practical Progress is carrying on systematic work which will result in great good. A thorough educational agitation is equally needed at the present moment in all our great cities. The conscience of the people must be aroused. Besides this Union for Practical Progress, a Municipal League has recently been formed in this city. The Twentieth Century Club of Boston is also a body of earnest reformers, who are seeking to bring about a brighter day.

In rural communities and in towns and villages we strongly advise the formation of local glee clubs. Let the stirring lines of such poets as James G. Clark, Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay, William Morris, and other prophets of the new time be set to popular music. The power of song in a great moral crusade is inestimable. The educational agitation of to-day will grow more powerful with each succeeding month. The majesty of an awakening people will soon be seen in the republic, and it is important that the new crusade be aided by the positive and helpful influence of song. *Organize glee clubs.*

As will be seen elsewhere, the Civic Centre of Washington has affiliated with the National Union for Practical Progress.

Letters from different points in the United States and Canada indicate a general awakening in public interest touching fundamental social and economic matters, such as has never before been known in this country. *Press the work all along the line.*

We invite special attention to the news notes of the Municipal Conference of New York, as they contain hints of great value to reformers in other cities.

Philadelphia Notes.—February 12 Miss Diana Hirschler and Mr. Lychenhein organized a union in Germantown. Miss Marianna Gay of that place was elected secretary. The Young Women's Arena Club is pushing its educational work in a systematic and vigorous manner. Three important illustrated lectures have been recently given by Rabbi H. Berkowitz and Miss K. B. Davis, assisted by Professor Holman and his telemicroscope.

New York Notes.—February 24 the New York City Union for Practical Progress perfected its organization. Among the earnest and practical reformers present were Mr. William H. Tolman, Secretary of the City Vigilance Committee, Mr. and Mrs. William Scudamore of the Municipal Conference, Mr. C. F. Wingate, Secretary of Sanitary Protective League, Mr. Wilson Gill, Patriotic League, Mrs. Imogen Fales, editor of the *Commonwealth*, Mr. J. S. Steele, Press Club, Mr. Howard Okie, counsel for the City Club, Mr. Edward Chamberlain, Mr. Thaddeus B. Wake-man, Mr. J. Franklin Clark, Mr. William Levin, Miss Ella Levin, Mr. Samuel Lane Batten of Amity Church, Miss Edith Levin. Mr. H. White of the United Garments Workers occupied the chair. Miss Ella Levin was elected secretary and treasurer. The meeting was ideal in all respects; all persons were intensely interested in the work, and the outlook is exceedingly bright.

Washington Notes.—The union work in this city is being vigorously pushed. A secretary has been employed to devote his time to the work, and important meetings have been held.

The Civic Centre of Washington has also come into the National Union. An account of this important body and its entrance into the National Union is given below:—

"In 1892 a few persons in Washington, who had read Mr. Stead's plea for a union of the moral forces of society, held a meeting with a view to forming an organization that would deal with sociological conditions by concerted methods. After several months of study and consideration the Civic Centre was formed and the following articles of association were agreed upon:—

1. The Centre shall have as its aim the bringing out into an active force the latent and hitherto unused forces of the well-wishers of good, and providing the means of utilizing them, and the banding together of both the active and passive forces of good against the ever active and united forces of evil.

2. The Centre shall be composed of those who are interested or are in any way devoting time, thought, or labor to the promotion of the welfare of the community.

3. Its object shall be to discharge the responsibilities incumbent upon a central body, undertaking to secure that every evil shall be combated by all available agencies for good; to promote the introduction into the community of every improvement which experience has shown will advance the general well-being.

4. Its duty shall be to act as a kind of telephone exchange between the various agencies at work in the town, but that it will also seek to collect and disseminate information as to what can be done to educate public opinion in the direction of progress, and to do what is possible toward energizing and giving effect to the public conscience of the local community.

5. The Centre shall constantly invite fresh suggestions based upon the results of the experience of other communities in the work of social reform, and endeavor to secure the best results achieved in the most advanced communities elsewhere.

6. The Centre should, if possible, contain among its members persons who, while entirely at one with the objects of the Centre, could be regarded as more or less directly representing all the institutions which make up the sum of the endeavor made to raise and improve the life of the town.

7. The Centre shall meet once a quarter, leaving the discharge of its duties between meetings to committees, which will be appointed for various departments of activity.

"At a recent meeting of the present year of the committee on organization it was decided to coöperate with the National Union for Practical Progress in the work of public education concerning general social questions. The Civic Centre will go on with its present organization and pursue its local work independently, but will carry out through its Sociological Committee such plans as may be suggested for it by the National Committee of the Union for Practical Progress."

NEWS NOTES OF THE NEW YORK MUNICIPAL REFORM WORK.

The germ idea of the conferences on municipal affairs now being held in the Amity Building, 312 West Fifty-Fourth Street, was a proposal for a series of meetings at the house of the secretary. Representatives of the many reform organizations in the city were to be invited in succession to meet a small group of friends having in common the idea that the present conferences represent, viz., the need of a positive programme. Among them were Rev. Leighton Williams, pastor of the Amity Baptist church, and Dr. William Howe Tolman, secretary of the City Vigilance League. Under their advice a larger scheme of public conferences was planned. Mr. Williams offered the new Amity Building as a meeting hall, and his associate pastor, Mr. S. L. Batten, late of Philadelphia, joined the committee. The programme grew larger and took shape in the making. The aid received in many quarters was most valuable, and the interest was most gratifying.

The underlying idea of the conferences has a double aspect. It is, on the one hand, that a city government must be more than a "concern run on business principles." It must endeavor to promote in all possible ways the well-being of the citizens. On the other hand, experience in Europe and America shows that only such an enlarged idea can arouse in the citizens that continual interest necessary to check corruption. Attack on abuses may be good, but without the sustained enthusiasm created by a positive programme negative criticism can only lead to a mere garnishing of the chamber; the one spirit of corruption driven out will return with seven other spirits worse than the first. Again: many reformers lay stress on political reforms—honest primaries, ballot reforms, etc. Yet at best these are only means to an end to secure the correct registration of opinion; whereas the real lack is good opinion to register. The need of the moment is an inspiring and practical positive programme.

"Wanted: A Municipal Programme." This motto indicates the desired result of the conferences, namely, that a demand may be made for definite, concrete provisions on the part of the municipality, whereby each citizen may feel that he is a part of a city, which is being managed for and by him. The following programme indicates the scope of the conferences: January 18, "The Need of a Positive Programme"; February 1, "The New Social Spirit"; February 15, "New York's Workers"; March 1, "New York's Dependents"; March 15, "New York's Houses"; March 29, "New York's Saloons"; April 12, "New York's Amusements"; April 26, "New York's Needs"; May 10, "New York's Thoroughfares"; May 24, "New York for New Yorkers"; June 7, "New York's Political Prospects."

It is proposed that many of the papers shall be printed. They will thus form a series of municipal programme leaflets. All communications regarding them, and any other matter concerning the conference should be addressed to the secretary, William Scudamore, 408 West Twenty-Third Street, New York City.

The principal paper of the first conference was "The Need of a Positive Programme." This appears in the current number of THE ARENA. The scope of the second conference is indicated by the list of subjects and speakers: (Major-General O. O. Howard, Commandant, Department of the East, U. S. A., in the chair.) "The New Social Spirit," by Dr. Josiah Strong, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance; ten minute papers—"The C. A. I. L.," by W. H. van Alen, secretary; "The Christian Endeavor Society," by M. S. Littlefield, president Local District 4; "The Brotherhood of St. Andrew," by John W. Wood, general secretary; "The Salvation Army," by Commander Ballington Booth; "The Ethical Society," by Professor Felix Adler.

"New York's Workers" was the subject of the third municipal conference in the Amity Building, New York City, Thursday, February 15. The chairman was Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. In the course of

his opening remarks, Mr. Gompers said that, speaking as one who had been with the wage workers from boyhood, he regarded such conferences as of the utmost importance, both to wage-workers and to all classes of the community.

Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, of the board of education, then spoke on "Technical and Industrial Education." He said all education should be a preparation for life. Manual training is the education of hand and brain to work in unison. Technical education is the study of science in its relation to various trades. American children should not leave the public schools ignorant of these things. Apart from the practical value of such training its moral effect is incalculable. The three Rs alone are likely to lead to a fourth, Rascality. The proper use of the hand is an important element in life in all trades, in all professions, and in all grades of life. Dr. Leipziger commented on the value of kindergarten training as the first step to a thorough technical education. He dwelt on the need for more technical schools of all grades, and especially upon the lack of an institution in New York similar to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which has developed from an industrial school to a technical college of the highest class. Manual training occupies at present an inconspicuous place in the public schools of New York City. There are only seven public kindergartens in the city, but private provision for technical education is somewhat more ample. The Cooper Union schools and the various trade schools of similar institutions are pioneers and excellent in their line. The Boston municipality has erected technical schools, and the municipalities everywhere in England are doing the same. In future every public school must have its kindergarten, and give time to manual training; and the last must be extended to evening schools. Three manual schools of apprenticeship should be established, two industrial schools for women, and a high school of art and design.

In the absence of Dr. Annie S. Daniel, through a severe illness, the secretary read extracts from her evidence on the sweating system given before a committee of the House of Representatives, last year. She urged that the tenement house manufacture be forbidden by law, and concluded: "The people working in tenement rooms have a decided grievance against the city of New York, in that its sanitary and health laws are not enforced; and against the greed of employers, who give the work to the tenement-house people simply because it is cheaper. The grievance of the children is: First, against their parents, who compel them to work as soon as they are old enough to speak, and deny them their right to an education; second, against the people of the state, who make good factory laws and place the enforcement of their laws in the hands of incompetent politicians."

Mornay Williams urged the establishment of Municipal Labor Bureaus. Originating in Paris, he said, the scheme of providing a registration bureau in large cities was now being extensively taken up. It has now been in operation in five cities in Ohio for the last three years, during which time 38,000 situations have been found for applicants; many private bureaus, which were too often extortion bureaus, and in any case charged both employer and employed, have been driven out of business. The bureaus take applications for work, and once each week prepare lists which are transmitted to the corresponding bureaus in other cities, thus creating a wider market for labor. A bill is now before the New York Legislature — and there is great hope of its passing — to establish municipal bureaus in all cities of over 75,000 inhabitants in the state. New York, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, and Syracuse are those cities. The object of the bureaus is to facilitate the finding of work by the employed, not the providing of work.

Edward King spoke on "The Unemployed," to which class he said he unfortunately at present belonged. He pointed out that although the labor bureaus would help, there would still be left over the great army of unemployed, for whom, under the present system, there is no work to be had. This army in times like the present increases in numbers till it becomes a terrible danger to the whole community. The great need is education, to change the ideas of the people as to what are proper social arrangements. It is necessary to incorporate the organized workers into the social and civic life of to-day; to leave them outside is dangerous. Trades Unions are better fitted for administering charity and for deciding who most need work than any outside philanthropic society.

Questions and a brief discussion followed. Rev. S. L. Batten said that much might be done in checking the sweating system by consumers purchasing only in stores that will not deal in sweat goods. President Gompers in closing the meeting said: Look for the Union label; this is a good rule for consumers to follow. Manual training and technical education are of the utmost value, but the mere trade schools are at present too often used to defeat the struggles of organized labor to obtain a proper standard of living. We must aim to establish that justice which can come only when the masses recognize their rights and are intelligent enough to perform their duties.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS LECTURE BUREAU.

No department of the work of the Union for Practical Progress is of greater importance than its Lecture Bureau. In the interest of this bureau the national committee proposes to come into friendly relations through intercourse of correspondence with the various reform agencies in every city, town, and village of America.

By arranging carefully planned routes for the lecturers and keeping them busy five or six nights each week, and by a system of frequent stops, thus avoiding long distance rides, the expense can be reduced to a minimum, and the best talent can be placed within reach of the smallest towns and villages everywhere. There is no reason why our Union Bureau cannot be made the most extensive and perfect lecture bureau in the world. Now is the time for churches, reform societies, radical clubs, and interested individuals everywhere to correspond with us concerning speakers, dates, and terms.

During the summer months it may be well to arrange out-of-door mass meetings wherever possible. But the great educational campaign will begin in September. It is our intention by that time to have routes planned for lecturers and organizers in the extreme Western and Southern states, as well as in the Eastern cities, and it is desirable that the dates be fixed as far ahead as possible. Among the lecturers who have already been engaged for the coming season by this bureau are the following:—

1. Hamlin Garland—author, poet, reformer. His lectures deal especially with economics and the causes of poverty.

2. Rev. S. W. Sample, Minneapolis, Minn., an eloquent, intensely earnest, and deep student of social questions.

3. Rev. Alexander Kent, pastor of the People's Church, Washington, D. C., a strong, logical speaker.

4. W. D. McCrackan, A. M., author, Boston. Especially familiar with everything that relates to the Swiss methods of government, such as the referendum, the initiative, and proportional representation.

5. Professor D. S. Holman of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science, the celebrated microscopist and inventor of the tele-microscope and other scientific instruments. A special card where a pay lecture could be arranged and made to cover the entire cost of his visit. With his wonderful tele-microscope he reveals the marvels of science on canvas so that they can be understood by children. He also shows the beauties of art and nature in an entirely new and fascinating manner by means of his instrument, explained in a scholarly and interesting way. He can either give his feast in the wonderland of science, and during the same evening explain the objects of the new movement, or he can deliver a pay lecture the first night followed by a social reform mass meeting upon the next.

6. Percy M. Reese, the celebrated lecturer on Roman art. His lectures on "Rome and America" and "Slavery Old and New," illustrated with stereopticon, cannot help producing the most vivid impressions on any audience, and convince them that the basis of American civilization is being destroyed by the same evils that caused the downfall of Rome.

7. Miss Diana Hirschler, president of the Young Women's Arena Club of Philadelphia.

8. Four of the six Vrooman brothers, Revs. Harry, Walter, and Hiram, and Mr. Carl Vrooman. Men who are earnest and zealous for a new and higher civilization, they can occupy a Christian pulpit, a secular platform, or a stand for an out-of-door mass meeting with equal ease, thoroughly conversant with every phase of the great social problem. They speak entirely extemporaneously, and have the peculiar gift of contagious enthusiasm.

Address all communications in this line to U. P. P. Lecture Bureau, Room 16, Pierce Building, Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

VOICES FROM TWO CONTINENTS TOUCHING THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE.

Organize, educate, and agitate. The hour has arrived when every man, woman, and child should become a voice calling for justice, for purity, for fundamental social reforms which will render it impossible for honest industry to stand pleading for work while indolent wealth spends from five to ten dollars for having the hair of pet poodles trimmed and perfumed, as is being done by the rich ladies of New York, or while bacchanal revels are being indulged in at the social zenith. Over production! He who says so blasphemes, while the poor freeze and starve. There is more than enough and to spare, but injustice, resulting from inequality of opportunities and

vicious class legislation, is making clean-cut lines between the plutocrat and the proletariat. It is the duty of all patriots to sink all differences and unite, that republican institutions may be saved through the securing of justice for *all* the people. A vigorous educational agitation, and the union of all who love God and man, are the crying needs of the hour. *Unite, educate, agitate.* The demand of the present reminds one of Hugo's burning words expressed in the following lines:—

The future presses. To-morrow cannot wait. Humanity has not a minute to lose. Quick! quick! let us hasten. The wretched have their feet on red-hot iron; they hunger, they thirst, they suffer, Alas! terrible emaciation of the poor human body. There is too much poverty, too much privation. too much immodesty, too much nakedness, too many houses of shame, too many convict prisons, too many tatters, too many defalcations, too many crimes, too much darkness; not enough schools; too many little innocents growing up for evil! The pallet of the poor girl is suddenly covered with silk and lace—and in that is the worst misery; by the side of misfortune there is vice, the one urging on the other. Such a society requires prompt succor. Let us seek out the best. Go, all of you in this search! Where are the promised lands? Civilization must march forward.

But before all, above all, let us be lavish of the light. All sanitary purification begins by opening the windows wide. Let us open wide all intellects; let us supply souls with air. Quick, quick, O thinkers! Let the human race breathe. Shed abroad hope, sow the ideal, do good. One step after another, horizon after horizon, conquest after conquest; because you have given what you promised, do not hold yourself quit of obligation. To perform is to promise. To-day's dawn pledges the sun for to-morrow.

From across the channel in England comes this word from the poet, artist, and social democrat, William Morris:—

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious. Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet again I say if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then?

Hamlin Garland, seeing the terrible hardships of thousands of honest, hard-working men on the farms in the great West, becomes almost savage as he cries:—

A tale of toil that's never done, I tell;
Of life where love's a fleeting wing
Across the toiler's murky hell
Of endless, cheerless journeying.
I draw to thee the far-off poor
And lay their sorrows at thy door.

Thou shalt not rest while these my kind
Toil hopelessly in solitude;
Thou shalt not leave them out of mind—
They must be reckoned with. The food
You eat shall bitter be,
While law robs them and feedeth thee.

Joaquin Miller from the Pacific coast thus speaks in his new work, "The Building of the City Beautiful":—

It was the toiler, not the money changer, who taught the lightnings to talk, created light out of space, and from the airy and white weapon of heaven called into existence the thundering black cavalry of commerce by land and by sea. Take care that this emancipated toiler is not made the slave of his own creation by blind, intoxicated money changers. See to it that all toil, that none but the helpless live on the toil of others.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Two Important Social and Economic Papers.

Among the important social and economic papers which will be features of THE ARENA for May will be two papers of more than ordinary importance. One has been prepared by the brilliant single tax writer and lecturer, Louis F. Post, entitled "First Principles of the Land Question." It is a masterly discussion, clear and incisive, and will be one of the most valuable additions to the essays dealing with fundamental social problems of the present time.

The other contribution is a strong and thoughtful paper by Professor Frank Parsons, one of the ablest social democrats of Boston. It is entitled "Manhood and Individualism." These contributions alone will be of more value to the real social reformer than volumes from the pens of popular apologists for plutocracy. They are papers which will compel men to think.

The Largest Review in the English Speaking World.

The enlarged ARENA. One hundred and forty-four pages in the body of the magazine, together with a number of pages devoted to book reviews and themes of interest to reformers, make this magazine by far the largest monthly review published in America. THE ARENA is the only great review which publishes portraits of leading thinkers, and which illustrates papers when occasion requires. It aims to discuss root problems, rather than give place to tedious essays on dead or unimportant issues, and it gives little space to the polished vaporizing of the high priests of conventional injustice and plutocracy who, by skilful juggling with figures or ignoring basic facts, divert the attention of the public from the fountain heads of injustice. THE ARENA insists on giving the reading world the facts as they really

exist, and so far as possible would indicate the only real remedies by pointing out the fundamental injustice in our present social and economic conditions.

The Tenement-House Symposium.

In this issue of THE ARENA we publish the first of a series of symposiums on the crying evils of the hour. Think of an opulent commonwealth like that of Massachusetts, and a cultured, church-jewelled and palace-decked city of Boston having within her borders such plague spots as the following, which Rev. W. J. Swaffield thus describes:—

No. 28 C. Street. This house is the most awful and scandalous in its sanitary arrangements that I have ever met with. The whole house is divided into tenements of one and two rooms, and at this date (February 19) has seventeen families of all sorts and sizes. Adults of both sexes live and sleep in the same room with married people; little children are forced to inhale the most awful and sickening fumes by night and day. The sanitary arrangements are in a shed close to the door where all the people must go in and out. There are three apartments opening out of a single entrance which must be used in common, and in sight of all. The moral sense of both young and old is quickly dulled by such surroundings, to say nothing of the effects upon health.

Doubtless the conventional philanthropists, who declared, before we turned the flash-light on the slums of this city, that Boston had no slums, will be indignant over Mr. Swaffield's revelations, for these *pseudo* philanthropists hate the light of truth as much as do their masters, the landlords, who reap enormous rentals from such horrible pest holes as the above. THE ARENA does not propose to be silent on any of these great crying evils. We are determined to turn on the lights and continue the educational agitation until the people rise in their might and declare that such things shall no longer be found in our midst.

Heredity and Environment.

In Dr. A. M. Holmes' thoughtful paper we have a continuance of our series of

papers dealing with the generation of tomorrow. Every parent, indeed every person, whose fortune it is to read this issue of *THE ARENA*, should carefully peruse this very able discussion of one of the most vital root problems of civilization. Dr. Holmes is more than a successful physician; he is a deep and original thinker, a man of the new time.

The Church as a Missionary Field.

In our series of papers on Union for Practical Progress, Rev. Walter Vrooman discusses the church as a mission field in a thoroughly practical manner. The Sermon on the Mount stands at the forefront of the ministry of Jesus. It was His great code of ethics. The Union for Practical Progress aims to emphasize the Golden Rule.

Dr. Leighton Williams on a Positive Programme for Municipal Reform.

I wish to call special attention to Rev. Leighton Williams' paper on "Municipal Reform" in this issue of *THE ARENA*. It is timely, and should be read by every thoughtful man and woman in our great cities. The men of heart, conscience and moral convictions must come to the front in this great crusade against the reign of the saloon, the gaming house and the resorts of ill-fame. Put the light against darkness, you who believe in the possibility of a better civilization. This work is your work; the time to do it is the present hour.

The Religion of Tennyson.

Rev. W. H. Savage's thoughtful paper on "Tennyson's Religion" is accompanied by a fine portrait of the poet, which was taken while he was still in vigorous manhood. In presenting pictures of our leading thinkers we have always tried to secure likenesses which represented the subject in the full tide of life.

Occult Science in Thibet.

Dr. Hensoldt's paper on "Occult Science in Thibet," which I had hoped to be able to present in this issue, will appear as a feature of the May *ARENA*.

Practical and Progressive Work Being Carried on in Philadelphia.

The following extract from a letter just received shows how the good work along the lines of practical progress is being carried on. I have touched on the idea of picnic suppers for the young in my paper on "The New Time." In this letter we have a practical illustration of the same idea described. The letter is from Mr. W. Phillips of 921 Arch Street, Philadelphia:—

You will, I am sure, be pleased to know that we have held all-day Sunday meetings since October; mornings for conference, afternoon for pleasant gatherings of old and young, including a class of some thirty to forty children, finishing up with a social tea and fruit festival from five to six o'clock, and a regular lecture session in the evening.

We have gone on very quietly, gathering a little strength and holding well together. The *Philadelphia Times* and *Inquirer* have given us favorable reports, and some of the weeklies also, so that inquiries from very many outside the city and state are reaching us. I feel sure that there are thousands in sympathy with our movement who know nothing about us, and who would be encouraged to move in the same direction if they felt that others shared their feelings. The enclosed programme will show you that we are not indifferent to the kindness of *THE ARENA* shown toward us, or inappreciative of its great value.

In addition to our regular work we have established a coöperative grocery business. One of our members has given us rent free for three months and two others have volunteered their services *gratis* for the same term. There is something more than selfishness in this old world yet, if we can only give the "divine" an opportunity to manifest itself.

Miss D. Hirschler outlined the work of the Union for Practical Progress to us last Sunday, and it was very enthusiastically received. She will give us a lecture on "The Sweating System" on the appointed Sunday. Our Sunday morning conferences for union of reformers have been marked by a spirit of fraternity not often witnessed in meetings where clashing opinions meet. Our song service and season of silence seem to have a harmonizing effect. We shall do all we can to further the Union for Practical Progress and everywhere work to prepare the way for the *sure coming* of the better day.

The Drink Problem.

The National Union for Practical Progress will ask all clergymen interested in existing evils, to preach on "The Saloon Evil and How Best To Deal With It," on the second Sunday in May. In the present issue will be found a thoughtful

and in every way valuable paper on the Scandinavian method of dealing with the drink traffic by Mr. John Koren who was sent to Norway and Sweden by the committee appointed by Governor Russell to investigate this system and report to the Massachusetts legislature. Mr. Koren made a careful and critical investigation of the system in both Norway and Sweden, and his paper is one of the most valuable on this subject which has appeared. We hope to be able to present other views on this subject in *THE ARENA* for May.

Our Series of Higher Criticism Papers.

Professor Batten's paper on higher criticism is unavoidably omitted from this issue but will appear next month. Our readers will enjoy Mr. Merwin-Marie Snell's discussion of higher criticism and the Roman Catholic church. Mr. Snell having been Bishop Keane's private secretary and also an instructor in the Washington University, he is enabled to speak with authority.

An Argument for Immortality.

The interesting paper treating of "Immortality," by Rev. Philip S. Moxom, the eminent Boston divine, which was read before the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and has been issued in pamphlet form and is for sale at No. 28 Cornhill, and at the Old Corner Book Store, corner of Washington and School Streets, Boston. Those at a distance who desire this very thoughtful paper should

send twelve cents for the same, the price of the pamphlet being ten cents and postage two. This paper is well worthy the earnest consideration of thinking people. Dr. Moxom, while not taking into account the positive evidence which modern scientific research is bringing to the consideration of earnest investigators, evinces a high degree of that inductive method which has prevailed in the past and which intuitive people have clung to as superior to external evidence in matters which relate to the great question of all ages, "If a man die; shall he live again?" Dr. Moxom has, I think, undervalued the importance of modern psychical research by ignoring certain assured results which certainly would have strengthened his position, but his paper is admirable as far as it goes, and reveals a deep spiritual nature. I can heartily recommend it to all broad-minded men and women. The price is ten cents; by mail twelve cents.

Tenement Houses in Boston.

I call special attention to Mr. Swaffield's admirable paper entitled "The Tenement Houses of Boston," in the symposium in this number of *THE ARENA*. Mr. Swaffield is prepared to take any persons to the houses he describes here, or to furnish the names of the streets in full, as well as the numbers of the houses. It is a crying shame that in the Athens of America such conditions are permitted to exist. There is evidently something wrong in our social conditions.